

THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 395.—JULY, 1903.

---

Art. I.—THE SAGAS AND SONGS OF THE GAEL.

1. *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*. Edited by Whitley Stokes and John Strachan. Vol. I. Cambridge: University Press, 1901.
  2. *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga: the Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel*. Edited, with Translation and Glossarial Index, by Whitley Stokes. Paris: Bouillon, 1902.
  3. *The Vision of MacConglinne; a Middle Irish Wonder-tale. The Voyage of Bran, son of Febal, to the Land of the Living. King and Hermit; a Colloquy between King Guaire of Aidne and his brother Marban; an Irish Poem of the tenth century. Liadain and Curithir; an Irish Love-story of the ninth century*. Edited and translated by Kuno Meyer. London: Nutt, 1892–1902.
  4. *The Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature; being a collection of Stories relating to the Hero Cuchullin*. Translated from the Irish by various scholars. Compiled and edited by Eleanor Hull. London: Nutt, 1898.
  5. *Cuchulain of Muirthemne; the Story of the Men of the Red Branch of Ulster*. Arranged and put into English by Lady Gregory. With a Preface by W. B. Yeats. London: Murray, 1902.
  6. *The Courtship of Ferb; an old Irish Romance*. Translated into English Prose and Verse by A. H. Leahy. London: Nutt, 1902.
  7. *Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations; orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and translated into English, with Notes*. By Alexander Carmichael. Two vols. Edinburgh: Constable, 1900.
  8. *A Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in the British Museum*. By Standish Hayes O'Grady. London, 1900.
- Vol. 198.—No. 395. B

## 2 THE SAGAS AND SONGS OF THE GAEL

9. *Revue Celtique*. Founded by H. Gaidoz. Edited by H. d'Arbois de Jubainville. Vols I-XXIII. 1870-1902.

10. *Otia Merseiana*. Published by the Arts Faculty of University College, Liverpool. Vols I-III. 1899-1903.

NEITHER the learned world nor the reading public has as yet come to take the interest in early Irish literature to which its age, the wealth and variety of its creations, and its intrinsic value entitle it. This was hardly surprising so long as it was accessible only to the few scholars who could read it in the original, or while translations from it were confined to the transactions of learned societies or specialist periodicals. Only a few decades ago it was difficult for any one, not a first-rate Irish scholar, to see with his own eyes what Irish literature was like. It was also unfortunate for its true appreciation that the first pieces rendered into English were badly chosen and by no means typical of the literary genius of ancient Ireland. We cannot wonder at the Provost of Trinity College entertaining a poor opinion of Irish literature if his acquaintance with it is limited to the 'Battle of Moira' and the 'Banquet of Dún na ngéd,' published in the first volume of the Irish Archæological Society, to which, by Dr Todd's eulogy of Irish literature, he had been induced to subscribe. But those tales appeared in 1842, and are bad examples of the bombastic style of decadent Irish story-telling. Not less unfortunate for the literary reputation of the old Gael has been the circumstance, pointed out by Miss Hull, that the so-called Ossianic tales, and not those of the heroic cycle, or the fine romances of the minor cycles, were the first fragments of Gaelic antiquity that were given to the world; while the distrust engendered by the forgeries of Macpherson and his imitators still attaches to Gaelic literature. Again, for a long time after Zeuss had placed Celtic scholarship upon a scientific basis, students of Irish had perforce to busy themselves with texts which, while linguistically important, were of no literary value; so that volume after volume appeared containing matter of repulsive aridity, poems 'unbrightened by a single flash of poetic fire, or by a single glimpse of nature or human life,' as one of the most indefatigable pioneers of Irish scholarship once complained. Thus the false impression was created,



that Irish literature contains nothing worthy of the attention of the literary student or the lover of poetry.

Yet, even during this time of preparation, a glimpse of the real treasure underlying this seemingly dry and barren field was occasionally given in the extracts and outlines of Irish romances published by native scholars, which, even in this imperfect form, inspired such poets as Tennyson, Sir Samuel Ferguson, and Aubrey de Vere. Since that time, however, things have greatly changed. For the last twenty years a group of native and foreign scholars—Whitley Stokes, Standish Hayes O'Grady, Windisch, Meyer, and others—have occupied themselves in editing the earliest known versions of the finest and most characteristic Irish prose epics and lyrical poetry, and in supplying in almost all cases trustworthy literal renderings of the originals. The public is thus, for the first time, in a position to estimate rightly the scope and genius of early Irish literature. The effect of this already shows itself in more ways than one. While the so-called Celtic revivalists content themselves with imitating what they consider to be the genuine spirit of Gaelic poetry—though to many their work seems a mere reclothing of mysticism in a Gaelic dress—others are better employed in the attempt to popularise genuine Irish literature by endeavouring to make it palatable to the taste of English readers. Before discussing their work, it will not be out of place to say something of the material which is already, or soon will be, in the hands of scholars.

The question as to the actual amount and value of early Irish literature still existing in manuscript is one to which it is difficult for the layman to obtain a satisfactory answer; but if we can trust some calculations lately made by Dr Kuno Meyer,\* there is undeniable evidence of its astonishing richness. Dividing Irish literature roughly into two main groups, the prose tale and lyrical poetry, Dr Meyer maintains that there still exist in manuscripts of various ages about 500 tales, of which so far only about 150 have been printed and translated; while a manuscript catalogue in the library of the Royal Irish Academy enumerates the initial lines of nearly 7500 poems still preserved to us. It is true that among this huge number

---

\* 'Liadain and Curithir,' p. 5.

#### 4 THE SAGAS AND SONGS OF THE GAEL

of tales and poems many are known to us only in late copies, while others are clearly the productions of recent times. But the former often reach back in an unbroken chain to very early originals, so that it sometimes happens that a poem originally composed in the eighth century has been preserved only in a seventeenth century manuscript; and of the latter many are merely modern settings of stories told and retold in Ireland for centuries.

In these tales there is embalmed a vast mass of legendary lore, of a character mythological, heroic, semi-historical, or romantic. In order to give an idea of the variety of their themes, one can hardly do better than quote the following episode from one of them. The story goes that a poet, by name Urard mac Coise, whose house had been plundered by some people in the pay of King Donall O'Neill (956-980), hit upon the following ingenious device to bring his complaint before the king himself. Dressed in his poet's garb, and accompanied by his twenty-five followers and disciples, he goes to the court of the king and offers to recite a tale. The king demands a list of the stories he can recite. Thereupon Urard mentions the titles, one after another, of several hundred tales, but in every instance receives the answer that the king already knows that story. At last he mentions a tale unknown to the king, who demands to hear it. The poet then tells him of the pillage of his own house, and with his recital so moves the king that he promises him vengeance and compensation.

'Shall I tell you,' he says, 'the tales of Ireland? Would you hear a tale of courtship and love, of elopement, of jealousy, treachery, and death? Or would you rather hear of visions, dreams, and apparitions? Or if you prefer, I will tell you of feasts and banquets and of drunkenness, of cattle-spoils, sieges, battles, and conquests, or of adventures, voyages, and exile.'

Such were the subjects of the tales composed by the makers of Irish literature, learnt by heart and recited by generations of professional story-tellers, and at a later date written down by monkish scribes. There were various ranks, so to speak, among these tales. Some were only to be recited before kings and chieftains, others before landholders, others again to peasants and villains. The oldest of them carry us back to a pre-

Christian period, and give us a picture of life in these islands at a time of which many wrongly believe that nothing but bones and stones remain to us. But to enlarge upon the historical value of these tales, or upon the interest which they must have for us as the early record of the civilisation of a people so closely akin to us, would take us beyond the limits of this paper. While they have been, and will continue to be, studied by generations of historians, folklorists, archæologists, it is rather their literary and human qualities which will make them live in popular favour. They await the hand of the artist, the poet, and the painter; and, when thus interpreted, it is not unlikely that European literature may once again be influenced by Celtic genius as it was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The literary merits of these ancient tales have been dwelt on by many critics, *berufen und unberufen*; their art, fancy, pathos, dignity, purity, and humour have been abundantly insisted upon. It is true that adverse criticism has not been absent. It has only lately been heard in the evidence of certain professors of Trinity College, Dublin, before the Board of Intermediate Education in Ireland. But no one who has read a page of any of the books mentioned at the head of this article will deny the high degree of technical finish and the rare gift of narrative displayed. It is a world of barbaric grandeur, of unending strife, to which the earliest tales transport us, but a world also of noble though rugged ideals of chivalry, honour, loyalty, and love, of picturesque figures and scenes, and a world withal over which fancy has spread its magic. Nor is there any lack of themes of perennial interest to humanity: the struggle of the individual with his passions, or against the trammels of law, of social conventions, of religion, or against fate itself, conflicts and tragedies of love and duty, of friendship and loyalty. If there is one trait which distinguishes this early literature from that of other nations in a similar stage of development, it is the type of womanhood revealed in it.

'As it belonged to Celtic romance,' says Miss Hull, 'to impose upon the mind of Europe a new type and ideal of womanhood, the type of Iseult and Elaine, of Guinevere and Enid, so it belonged to Ireland to create some of the earliest

## 6 THE SAGAS AND SONGS OF THE GAEL

love-tales of Western Europe, the love-tales of Deirdre and Emer, of Etaine and Grainne. The love-tales of Ireland are not only among the most ancient in Western Europe, they have also a purity, a tenderness, and a charm hardly to be found elsewhere. They are indeed a special production of the Gael. These sprightly, winsome, very human maidens belong to an order of things as unlike the Titanic women of the Northern Saga, as they are unlike the morbid, luxurious ladies of Southern romance.'

If the reader wishes to see how Irish maidens and youths of those early centuries loved, let him turn to the 'Wooing of Emer,' to the 'Children of Usnech,' to 'Dermot and Grainne,' or to 'Liadain and Curithir.' The last tale, especially, by its pathos and its rare knowledge of the human heart, recalls the other great love-stories of the world's literature. It tells of the love of a poetess, who has taken the veil, for a young poet from whom her vows separate her for ever. Thus the plot is a conflict between love and religion. The lovers seek the direction of a saint, who gives them the choice between seeing each other without speaking, or speaking without seeing. 'Talking for us!' says the poet. 'We have been looking at each other all our lives.' So they converse, while one is enclosed in a cell, and the other wanders round it. Passionate words of love and longing and regret are exchanged :—

'Beloved is the dear voice that I hear,  
I dare not welcome it. . . .  
'Tis this the voice does to me,  
It will not let me sleep.'

At length the poet is banished by the saint, and, renouncing love, takes up the pilgrim's staff. The hapless Liadain follows, seeking him and wailing :—

'Joyless  
The bargain I have made!  
The heart of him I loved I wrung.  
I am Liadain  
Who loved Curithir,  
It is true as they say.  
. . . The music of the forest  
Would sing to me when with Curithir,  
Together with the voice of the purple sea.'

But he crosses the sea, and Liadain returns to die on the flagstone on which he had been wont to pray. 'Her soul went to heaven, and that flagstone was put over her face upon her tomb.'

It must be evident that to present to the modern reader this old-world literature, the product of a civilisation so unfamiliar to us, in a form that should be at once faithful and pleasing, is in itself a difficult task. But two things make it still more difficult. The first of these is the obscurity of the language, many words and idioms of which even the best living scholars seem still unable to explain satisfactorily, so that, at any rate for some time to come, no perfect and final rendering is possible. But the progress of Irish scholarship has of late been so rapid, and criticism by scholars of each other's work so keen, that a version made a few years ago can now be vastly improved. Nevertheless the inadequacy of our present knowledge raises a doubt whether the time has yet come for any one to attempt a free and yet faithful setting of this literature. It is easy to conjecture and guess; but it is also easy to go hopelessly astray. A second difficulty lies in the imperfect state of the different versions, due to careless copyists, clumsy redactors, or unscrupulous interpolators. Hardly a single Irish story has come down to us in the form in which it was recited before an Irish audience; for in every case the tale has been committed to writing, not by those whose business it was to recite it, but by monks anxious to preserve the decaying legendary lore of their native land.

Hence it must be the endeavour of the ideal translator, anxious to make these old stories live again, to produce a consecutive and harmonious narrative by preserving the essential unities of the original, supplying lacunæ, omitting needless reiterations, and lopping off later accretions. This he can only do by a collation and comparison of all existing versions, of which he will find, in nine cases out of ten, that the oldest are the purest and the best. If he have thus arrived at a fairly true conception of the original, he should beware of tampering with any characteristic details inherent in the character of the story and the age to which it belongs, however uncouth or little in keeping with the ephemeral ideas of modern taste and convention. Every author and artist, it is true, has the right to select

the audience to whom he wishes to appeal; but, in the name of literary honesty and historic truth, these fine old tales, once recited before kings and queens, and still moving us by their intimate humanity, should never degenerate merely into stories for the nursery or the drawing-room. Reverence for their antiquity, no less than sympathy with their perfect art, should prevent any one from replacing features picturesque, if quaint, racy, if archaic, by dull and colourless adaptations.

The task of the scholar and literal translator is different and in some respects simpler, and one which, owing to the present state of scholarship, cannot for a long time to come be dispensed with. If the scholar truly understands and appreciates his author, and knows how to handle his mother tongue, he cannot fail to give us a version which, though possibly severe, will yet retain the first flavour of the original. In this kind of rendering Dr Whitley Stokes has long been a recognised master. So early as 1874 he began, with his 'Death of Cuchulinn,' a brilliant series of translations of the chief masterpieces of Irish story-telling, which during recent years have followed each other in rapid succession. Whoever wishes to obtain at first hand an insight into the form and spirit of Irish legend should turn to these renderings, most of which are to be found scattered throughout the twenty-four volumes of the 'Revue Celtique.'

Among them we find the 'Voyage of Mael Duin,' rendered familiar by Tennyson's poem, which, however, bears only a remote relation to the original. It is a story full of fancy, imaginative power, and that natural magic which Matthew Arnold loved. It is the oldest known specimen of those fabulous voyages of which that of St Brendan has become the most popular. Written down in the ninth century, it shows the influence of classical learning, some of its episodes being clearly taken from the 'Æneid,' as Professor Zimmer has shown in detail. In the course of his voyage Mael Duin visits twenty islands, one more wonderful than another. They are evidently some of the 'thrice fifty distant isles' lying in the mysterious uncrossed ocean to the west of Ireland, of which the 'Voyage of Bran' speaks. There are the islands of the Enormous Ants, of the Fiery Beasts and the Golden Apples, of the Burning River, of the Wondrous Fountain,



of the Laughers, and, most marvellous of all, the island of the Revolving Rampart of Fire.

'After that the voyagers sighted another island, which was not large; and a fiery rampart was round about it; and that rampart kept revolving round the island. There was an open doorway in the side of that rampart. Now, whenever the doorway would come in its revolution opposite to them, they would see through it the whole island, and all that was therein, and all its indwellers, many beautiful human beings, wearing adorned garments and feasting, with golden vessels in their hands. And the wanderers heard their ale-music. And for a long space they were gazing at the marvel they beheld, and they deemed it delightful.'

The 'Second Battle of Moytura' is a good example of the mythological tale, of which sort, unfortunately, not many of equal antiquity seem to have been preserved. It is sufficiently barbarous to satisfy the most exacting student of primitive beliefs and practices. It gives an account of the mythical contest between the Tuath De Danann and the Fomorians, full of grotesque humour, of which the following passage may serve as an example:—

'Then Lugh sent the Dagda to spy out the Fomorians and to delay them until the men of Ireland should come to the battle. So the Dagda went to the camp of the Fomorians and asked them for a truce of battle. This was granted to him as he asked. Porridge is then made for him by the Fomorians, and this was done to mock him, for great was his love of porridge. They fill for him the king's cauldron, five fists deep, into which went fourscore gallons of new milk and the like quantity of meal and fat. Goats and sheep and swine are put into it, and they are all boiled together with the porridge. The whole was spilt for him into a hole in the ground, and he was told that he would be put to death unless he consumed it all. He should eat his fill, so that he might not reproach the Fomorians with inhospitality.' But the Dagda was more than equal to the task. 'He took his ladle, which was big enough for a man and a woman to lie on the middle of it, and he began to eat. As he put his ladleful into his mouth he would say, "Good food this," and after he had eaten it all he put his curved finger over the bottom of the hole among the mould and gravel to search for any remains. Sleep came upon him then after eating his porridge. As big as the cauldron of a house was his belly, so that the Fomorians laughed at it! Then he went away from them to



## 10 THE SAGAS AND SONGS OF THE GAEL

the strand of Eba. Not easy was it for the hero to move along, owing to the bigness of his belly.'

The 'Siege of Howth' is a saga of the Ulster heroic cycle, and a fine example of Irish story-telling at its best. We select an episode full of traits at once barbaric and refined, fierce and tender. The version is one which Miss Hull has made from Mr Stokes's translation. Conall Cernach and Mesgegra meet in deadly combat.

"I claim my brothers from thee!" said Conall.

"I do not carry them [i.e. their skulls] in my girdle," said Mesgegra.

"That is a pity," said Conall.

"It were not champion-like," said Mesgegra, "to fight with me who have but one hand."

"My hand shall be tied to my side," said Conall.

'Triply was Conall Cernach's hand tied to his side. And each smote the other till the river was red with their blood. But the sword-play of Conall prevailed.

"I perceive that thou wilt not go, O Conall," said Mesgegra, "till thou takest my head with thee. Put thou my head above thy head, and add my glory to thy glory."

'Then Conall severed his head from him. . . .

'After that Conall got alone into his chariot, and his charioteer into Mesgegra's chariot. They go forward then, into Uachtar Fine, till they meet fifty women; namely, Buan, Mesgegra's wife, with her maidens, coming southward from the border.

"Who art thou, O woman?" said Conall.

"I am the wife of Mesgegra the king."

"It hath been enjoined on thee to come with me," said Conall.

"Who hath enjoined me?" said the woman.

"Mesgegra," said Conall.

"Hast thou brought a token with thee?" said she.

"Behold his chariot and his horses," said Conall.

"Many are they on whom he bestows treasures," said the woman.

"Behold then his head," said Conall.

"Now am I lost to him!" she said.

'Now the head at one moment flushed, and at another whitened again.

"What ails the head?" said Conall.

"I know," said Buan. "A dispute arose between him and Athirne. He declared that no man of Ulster should ever

bear me away. A struggle on account of his word, that it is that ails the head."

"Come thou to me," said Conall, "into the chariot."

"Stay," she replied, "till I bewail my husband."

"Then she lifted up her cry of lamentation, and even unto Tara and to Allen was her cry heard. And she cast herself backwards, dead. On the roadside is her grave, even Coll Buana, "the hazel of Buan," from the hazel that grows through her grave.

"Bear the head hence, my lad," said Conall.

"I cannot bear the head with me," says the gillie.

"Then cut the brain out of it with thy sword," said Conall, "and bear the brain with thee, and mix lime therewith, and make a ball thereof."

"This was done, and the head was left beside the woman."

The latest contribution from Dr Stokes's pen is an edition and translation of the 'Death of Muirchertach mac Erca,' a tale of the vengeance taken by a beautiful witch named Sheen on the slayer of her parents and her sister and the destroyer of her clan. For the purpose of wreaking her vengeance upon him with the greater facility, she throws herself in his way and becomes his mistress.

'One day when Muirchertach, King of Ireland, was hunting on the border of the Brugh, and his hunting companions had left him alone on his hunting-mound, he saw a solitary damsel, beautifully formed, fair-headed, bright-skinned, with a green mantle about her, sitting near him on the mound of turf. And it seemed to him that of womankind he had never beheld her equal in beauty and refinement. So that all his body and nature were filled with love of her; for, gazing at her, it seemed to him that he would give the whole of Ireland for one night's loan of her, so utterly did he love her at sight.'

She consents to go with him on condition that he never utter her name, that he put away the mother of his children, and that no cleric ever enter the house in which she is. Then she works upon him with spells and magic till he almost loses his reason, and drowns himself in a cask of wine to escape from the fire which she has set to his house. The tragedy is deepened by the death of Muirchertach's wife of grief for her husband, and by the death of Sheen herself of love and remorse for the man she has maddened by her enchantments and then murdered.

Dr Stokes points out that there exists a close parallel with the principal *motif* of this tale in a Japanese story.

While these and many other heroic and romantic tales of Ireland are of the nature of tragedies, it must not be supposed, as has sometimes been done, that the Irish genius does not respond as keenly to the humorous side of life. Indeed, in the wide range of the world's literature, it would be hard to find a tale more bubbling over with boisterous humour, or inspired with a more amazing or a more amusing fancy, than the food-epic called the 'Vision of MacConglinne'—probably only one of many similar Rabelaisian stories which has been accidentally preserved in the wreck and dispersion of Irish manuscripts. MacConglinne is a wandering scholar and gleeman, a luckless but light-hearted student, who cannot live by his learning and seeks to live by his wits. 'Wretched to him was his life in the shade of his studies.' So one Friday evening he sold all he had for two wheat-cakes and a piece of streaked bacon. Then he made himself a pair of brogues of seven-folded dun leather, took a good thick sprig of the blackthorn in his hand, and marched to Cork. Here he fell out with the abbot, on whose hospitality he had made a satire. He was starved, beaten, ducked, and came very near to be crucified. But by good chance there came in the night a certain vision to MacConglinne; and the abbot of Cork declared that the evil of gluttony which afflicted Cathal, King of Munster, would be cured by the recital of that vision. Wherefore MacConglinne was given his life, and was sent to the court of the king. After he had tricked Cathal into a two days' fast he had him bound, and proceeded to eat in his presence a savoury meal, putting each morsel past the king's mouth into his own. At the same time he went on, in mock-heroic style, to recite his vision:—

'A lake of new milk I beheld  
In the midst of a fair plain.  
I saw a well appointed house  
Thatched with butter.

As I went all around it  
To view its arrangement:  
Puddings fresh boiled,  
They were its thatch-rods.

Its two soft door-posts of custard,  
 Its dais of curds and butter  
 Beds of glorious lard,  
 Many shields of thin pressed cheese.'

He relates how he sailed across the lake to the land of Early Eating, where dwelt the tribes of the Children of Food, a wondrous land with its mountains of butter, its lakes of lard mixed with honey, its walls of custard, its palisades of old bacon. Here he visited the wizard doctor, who undertook to cure him of his disease, to wit, his excessive love of good cheer.

'If thou goest home to-night go to the well to wash thy hands, rub thy teeth with thy fists, and comb every straight rib of thy hair in order. Warm thyself afterward before a glowing fire. . . . Let a hairy calf-skin be placed under thee to the north-east before the fire . . . and let an active, white-handed, sensible, joyous woman wait upon thee, red-lipped, womanly, eloquent, of a good kin, wearing a necklace, a cloak, and a brooch, with a black edge between the two peaks of her cloak that sorrow may not come upon her; with the three nurses of her dignity upon her, with three dimples of love and delight in her countenance, without an expression of harshness in her forehead . . . so that the gait and movements of the maiden may be graceful and quick, so that her gentle talk and address may be melodious as strings, soft and sweet; so that from her crown to her sole there may be neither fault nor stain nor blemish on which a sharp watchful observer may hit.'

When the doctor had told him what to eat he ordered him his 'drop of drink':—

'A tiny little measure for thee, MacConglinne, not too large, only as much as twenty men will drink, on the top of those viands: of very thick milk, of milk not too thick, of milk of long thickness, of milk of medium thickness, of yellow bubbling milk, the swallowing of which needs chewing, of the milk that makes the snoring bleat of a ram as it rushes down the gorge, so that the first draught says to the last draught: "I vow, thou mangy cur, before the Creator, if thou comest down, I'll go up, for there is no room for the doghood of the pair of us in this treasure-house."'

At the recital of all these pleasant viands the demon within Cathal crawled out, licked its lips, clutched a piece

of meat, and was promptly seized and put into the fire, with a cauldron over its head. So Cathal was cured.

While the translations given hitherto are due to scholars working directly from the originals, we now come to the consideration of work derived at second-hand by writers who, for the purpose of making Irish literature more widely known, aim at a more artistic or a more popular treatment. Among these, Mr Leahy's translation adheres closely to Windisch's literal German rendering. The choice of style is happy, free both from archaisms and needless modernisations, while a fine feeling for the force and beauties of the original is apparent throughout. In our opinion no looser or more popular treatment should be needed to bring these ancient tales home to the modern reader. 'The Courtship of Ferb' is one of the finest stories in old Irish literature, and a good example of the Irish *cante fable*, or interwoven song and story, in the manner of 'Aucassin and Nicolette.'

Miss Hull and Lady Gregory, in the books to which their names are attached above, have aimed at collecting in one volume all, or nearly all, of the ancient legends centring around the national hero, Cuchulinn. They necessarily invite comparison with each other. Such a comparison Mr Edward Garnett has lately instituted in the 'Academy,' with the result that, on the whole, he gives the palm to Miss Hull. It is our opinion also that she has better fulfilled the conditions laid down above as essential to any, even a very free, treatment of these sagas. Although Miss Hull confesses to occasionally humouring popular taste and susceptibilities, she rarely sins in this respect, and has mainly confined herself to reproducing in a literary form the versions made by Stokes, Windisch, Meyer, and other scholars. We have already given an example of her style in the 'Combat of Conall and Mesgegra' above. Among the translations printed by her are three specially made for her by the veteran native scholar, Standish Hayes O'Grady, one of which, the 'Cattle-spoil of Coolney,' is the first attempt, and a highly successful one, to render into English that greatest Irish epic in its entirety. The text chosen is, however, not the best available; and we shall have to

wait for some time yet for an adequate English rendering of this Irish Iliad in its oldest and most perfect form.

Lady Gregory's book possesses great literary merit, which has secured for it at the hands of reviewers abundant if somewhat indiscriminating praise. It is only right to point out that, from the point of view of scholarship, it suffers from some serious defects. The author presents us with a fairly complete version of many of the tales; but the arrangement of her book is likely to mislead by giving a unity to the stories which they do not possess. Like the Greek poets who dealt with early mythology or the story of Troy, the old Irish romance-writers had a stock of ancient legend to draw upon, but often employed their own imagination. Now, if we can imagine Homer and Hesiod, the 'Prometheus' of Æschylus, the 'Argonautica' of Apollonius, the 'Ajax' and the 'Philoctetes' of Sophocles, and the 'Orestes,' the 'Electra,' and the 'Iphigenias' of Euripides, supplemented by such passages from Æschylus's trilogy as might throw light on the last four plays, all boiled down into a single volume, we shall have some idea of the plan on which Lady Gregory's book is based. If, further, we suppose that in such a volume, put before us as a substitute for Greek literature, all conflicting passages are omitted, as well as those in which the story, as given by the original poet, differs from the editor's conception of what the story ought to be, while of the remaining parts, some are given in abstract, some closely follow previous English or German translations, and all are thrown into such a uniform literary style as to suggest, wherever possible, the modern Greek, we shall realise what a false impression of old Irish literature may be created by 'Cuchulain of Muirthemne.' To substitute an abstract for independent literary productions, to replace an old literature that is just beginning to become known by a digest, a Testament by a Diatessaron, is surely not desirable.

Independently of divergences in the versions of one story, there are many allusions in different stories which point to different bodies of tradition, and are quite inconsistent with each other, as might indeed be expected if we remember that we are dealing with the works of authors separated in time by hundreds of years. Thus the tale of Doel Dermait's sons, which Lady Gregory,

from internal evidence, puts late in Cuchulinn's life, opens by representing his journey to Ciarraige or Kerry—which, by the by, is a district of Roscommon, not the Munster county—as connected with the trials of Cuchulinn's heroism described in the 'Feast of Bricriu.' But since Bricriu is killed in the war of Coolney, this is at variance with the supposed order of the tales; so Lady Gregory commences the story by saying, 'One time Cuchulain was gone *south* to Ciarraige, *in the province of Munster*' (the words in italics being added by her), and omits altogether the first few pages which deal with Bricriu, and indicate that the 'Sons of Doel Dermait' is really an independent story connected with that earlier period when Bricriu was yet alive. Again, the story of Blanaid, wife of Curoi, gives an account of Cuchulinn which does not agree with Lady Gregory's conception of him; so she omits all mention of his defeat and captivity at the hands of Curoi.

We come next to the question as to how far Lady Gregory gives us the spirit of the individual stories, and what is the nature of her alterations. We are afraid that by too great sympathy with the sentiments of that portion of the Irish peasantry with whom she is specially acquainted—the people of Kiltartan, to whom she dedicates her book—she has too often given a false colouring to the stories. Not that we mean to find fault with the language she has chosen, which, as Mr Yeats rightly says, fits the stories admirably. But she allows her preconceived notions to affect the characters and incidents. For one of her pieces, the 'Wedding of Maine Morgor,' otherwise known as the 'Courtship of Ferb,' only one source is indicated; and as this source is available in the literal translation made by Mr Leahy, we may take this tale as the easiest to examine.

Perhaps the most remarkable alteration in Lady Gregory's version is the introduction of Fiannamail as 'the son of the innkeeper at Cruachan.' Attention is specially drawn to 'the innkeeper's son' by the heading of p. 171. An 'innkeeper's son' has a democratic flavour that rather surprises the reader of a saga, which, as a rule, pays little attention to any one beneath the rank of a chief, a bard, or a lady. Now we find that the Irish word rendered by 'innkeeper' is *rechtaire*, which means 'steward';



and that Fiannamail, the eighth in rank among the youths of Croghan, was the son of the high steward of (not 'at') Croghan. The word *rechtaire* being given correctly as 'steward' by Lady Gregory elsewhere (e.g. on p. 269), it is hard at first to see where the 'innkeeper' comes from. If, however, we refer to Windisch's translation, which she has here 'used to help her in working from the Irish text,' it appears that the German word used is *Wirtschafter*. So Lady Gregory's 'innkeeper' turns out to be a mistranslation from the German, not a difference of interpretation on literary or scholarly grounds.

If, again, we compare the opening of the 'Debility of the Ultonians' in Lady Gregory's version with that made by Miss Hull from the German of Windisch, we shall find that the general effect of her omissions and additions is to change the whole tone and character of the legend. Macha, the semi-supernatural wife of the wealthy landowner, has become an Irish countrywoman of the present day. Lady Gregory's account makes 'the man of the house' have the 'care of all his children' till the woman comes 'to tend him and them.' She 'goes to where the meal is,' 'takes it out,' 'bakes a cake,' 'makes up' and 'covers over' what appears to be a peat fire, just as the wife of a small farmer might do to-day. But all these phrases are Lady Gregory's. They are not in the original story, which we can read in Miss Hull's version. Here the woman 'stirs' and 'puts out' the fire (apparently one of wood). Crundchu is no poor man; he has a kitchen apart from the living-room, and servants to wait on him. Moreover, the gathering or fair, which, according to Lady Gregory, was but a poor show, was, according to the original, brilliant, not only with regard to the spectators, but also as regards the horses and the costumes. Not only were there games and races at this gathering, but combats, tournaments, and processions. The last three are lumped together by Lady Gregory in the unimpressive phrase, 'all sorts of amusements.'

Lady Gregory's omissions are of two kinds. She frequently leaves out traits which seemed to her barbaric or grotesque, and she compresses where the original seemed to her too diffuse. From too nice a taste she evidently feels out of sympathy with the spirit of this primitive civilisation. Perhaps we ought not to object to

her giving Cuchulinn only one pupil in each eye, as is the case with ordinary mortals, instead of five pupils of different colour which he possesses in the original story. Such a survival of a mythological age is not uncommon in Irish legends of all times. But what shall we say to her omissions at the end of the 'High King of Ireland,' as she calls the tale commonly known as 'The Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel'? King Conary, exhausted with the long fight, is dying of thirst, and, though hardly a man can be spared from the few remaining defenders of the house, he sends his foster-father, MacCecht, to get him a draught of water. MacCecht starts forth and bursts through the attacking force, carrying the king's young son with him under his armpit, and holding in one hand an iron spit and in the other Conary's huge golden cup. But all the rivers and lakes of Ireland have run dry; in none can he get the fill of the cup. At last he discovers a spring of water; but meanwhile the boy has expired under his arm. Back he hastens to the scene of battle, only to arrive just as two foemen are striking off the dead king's head. Having first slain them both, he pours the water into the neck and gullet of the king, whereupon the severed head opens its lips and says:

'A good man, MacCecht, an excellent man, MacCecht!

A brave warrior without, a brave warrior within!

He brings a drink, he saves a king, he doth a deed!' etc.

Lady Gregory says nothing of the boy; makes MacCecht pour the water into Conary's mouth and throat; and omits also the miraculous speech of the dissevered head. Against the omission of tedious repetitions and bombastic descriptions we have nothing to say, holding, with the author of the 'Hostel,' that it is 'weariness of mind, confusion to the senses, tediousness to hearers, superfluity of narration, to go over the same things twice.' But we must protest against the mutilation of an ancient story by treatment such as this.

Lady Gregory has included in her collection several stories which have not yet been edited and translated in their oldest versions, though they are accessible to Irish scholars in such manuscripts as the 'Yellow Book of Lecan.' One of these is the story entitled 'The Only Son of Aoife,' to which a particular interest attaches as the

Irish version of the combat between father and son, well known to English readers through Matthew Arnold's rendering of the Roostem and Sohrab episode from the 'Shahnameh.' Here Lady Gregory gives us a version which is modern in tone and spirit, and omits or distorts several essential features and incidents of the story. One of the worst instances of this is where Aoife is made, out of jealousy of Emer, to contrive to bring about the death of her son by putting *geasa*, or prohibitory injunctions, on him. In the old versions there is not a word of this. It is Cuchulinn himself who leaves the *geasa*. The modern ending also is deplorably weak. In the old version Conlaech, when the son has received his death-wound from his father's thrust with the *gae bulg*—a rare weapon made out of bones—he cries out, 'Scathach never taught me that!' thereby revealing his identity. Cuchulinn carries his dying son in his arms to where the heroes of Ulster are assembled, and Conlaech says, 'If I were among you for five years, I should scatter the men of the world before you on every side till your dominion should extend as far as Rome herself. Since that cannot be, O father, name to me the famous men who are here that I may greet them.' Then he puts his arms around the neck of each of them, bids his father farewell and dies. And for three days and nights, to make even the brute world share this sorrow, not a calf in Ulster was allowed to take suck from its mother.

We are far from wishing to minimise the literary quality of Lady Gregory's book. The translations which she has chosen to reproduce almost verbally are generally the most literary and pleasing; her analyses of other translations are done in a pleasant and uniform style. The additions that she has made all produce the desired effect of suggesting modern Connaught and Munster ideas and traditions. But the book gives a wrong idea of the unity of the romances; it shows little anxiety to give the stories accurately; it turns romances, written to suit an audience of chiefs, into folk-tales of modern date. The tales of the Cuchulinn saga are here reproduced in a style which, in our opinion, would have better suited the later stories of Finn and his companions; so that we cannot join Mr Yeats in the view expressed in his preface, that 'nobody, except for a scientific purpose, will ever need any other text than this.'

The lyrical poetry of Ireland may be roughly divided into two kinds—the poetry of the professional bard attached to the court and person of a chief, and that of the unattached popular poet. To give a faithful and vivid account of the Irish court poets and their work would be a difficult but a fascinating task. We have to deal with distinct personages, whose history is often known. Their fates as well as their songs are interwoven with the history of the dynasties and the great houses of Ireland, whose retainers they were, and whose joys and sorrows they shared and expressed. Again, we are well informed from early documents about them as a class, about their position in society, their privileges and their degrees, and about the long training which they underwent.

The subjects of the bulk of bardic poetry are praise and satire. Indeed, from the beginning these have been the keynotes of Celtic poetry. The Greek writer, Poseidonios, the teacher of Cicero, speaking of the bards of Gaul, says that to extol and to lampoon were their two main functions. To him we owe the following anecdote of the first Celtic poet of whom we hear in history, a Gaulish bard of the second century B.C. Poseidonios relates that one day, when Louernius, king of a Gaulish tribe, the Arverni, gave a grand feast in a specially constructed quadrangular hall, a bard had the misfortune to arrive too late. Seeing the king passing out in his chariot, he followed him on foot, and, running alongside the royal car, recited a poem in praise of the king, and deplored his own bad luck in having arrived *post festum*. The king, delighted with the poetry, threw him his purse. The bard picked it up and then poured out his thanks in the following strain :

‘The track of earth on which thou ridest along brings gold  
and benefits to men.’

This earliest note of Celtic poetry is eminently characteristic. The same scene might have been enacted at any time in mediæval Wales or Ireland.

Comparatively little of the bardic poetry of Ireland has yet been published, though there is no lack of material even of very early date. As an old example we may instance the spirited ode to the sword of Cernball by his

hereditary bard, Dallan mac More, composed in 909 A.D., and beginning :

'Hail, sword of Cerball! Oft hast thou been in the great  
woof of war,  
Oft giving battle, beheading high chieftains.'

Thus the bard apostrophises the sword, an heirloom of the royal family to which he owes allegiance. He enumerates the battles in which it has been engaged, the kings who have wielded it, the warriors who have fallen by it. The poem is one of many similar productions which possess not only poetical but historical value. One wishes that R. L. Stevenson had been acquainted with this poem before he wrote the 'Song of the Sword of Allan Breck.'

Many fine examples from a later age are contained in O'Grady's 'Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum,' a book which makes one realise more clearly than any other that the true history of Ireland has never yet been written. From a large number here for the first time published, and accompanied by masterly translations, we select the following characteristic specimens.

The first is a panegyric by Ferrall Oge mac Ward urging the claims of his lord, Turlough O'Neill, to be acknowledged leader of all Ireland. The date is about 1567 A.D. The poem describes the quiet, peace, and plenty accruing from O'Neill's just but rigorous rule:—

'So stern the sway of Ailech's King that from Torach [Torry Island] to Dundalk a lone woman goes unchallenged. A nut-laden bough all on the royal road, even the ill-disposed would for a whole year pretermitt to pluck, for peril of Niall of the Nine Hostages his descendant. In Ulster's land of placid waterfalls, under the Chief of Cobthach's gentle blood, save for their cornyards' protection, no single cow would have a herdsman. Such this present O'Neill's new reign of law that, though 'twere crammed with treasure, a house all doorless he would make secure against the man of depredation. Enmity is abolished: in Flann's land now, under the rule of Crimthann's gentle race, one holds his whilom foeman to be a fitting bedfellow.'

It is an idyllic picture, such as has been painted at other times of the government of other kings; and, if it is not altogether borne out by impartial history, the enthusiasm

of the bard and the ideal he holds up are themselves facts of no small importance.

The second, written about the time of the first plantations of Ulster, describes graphically the foreign invasion the uprooting of ancient customs, when the fighting men of the four provinces, gentle and simple, are driven to take distant foreign service:—

‘In their place we have a conceited and impure swarm, of foreigners’ blood, of an excommunicated rabble—Saxons are there and Scotsmen. This the land of noble Niall’s posterity [i.e. Ulster] they portion out among themselves without leaving a jot of Flann’s milk-yielding Plain [i.e. Ireland], but we find it cut up into “acres.” We have lived to see (affliction heavy!) the tribal convention places emptied; the finny wealth perished away in the stream; dark thickets of the chase turned into streets. A boorish congregation is in the House of Saints; God’s service performed under shelter of simple boughs; poets’ and minstrels’ bedclothes thrown to litter cattle; the mountain allotted all in fenced fields.’

Of the purely lyrical poetry of ancient Ireland next to nothing has been published; but from the few specimens which have been made known it is safe to predict that, with wider knowledge of these poems, the interest in Irish literature will spread in ever wider circles. These songs possess many of the essential qualities of the best lyrical poetry. Nothing, for example, can exceed the pathos and beauty of the ‘Song of the Old Woman of Beare.’ It is the lament of Digdi, the aged nun of Berehaven, who, for a hundred years, had worn the veil which St Cummin blessed upon her head. She contrasts the privations and sufferings of her old age with the pleasures of her youth, when she had been the delight of kings. She draws her imagery from the flood-tide and ebb-tide of the wide Atlantic, on whose shores she had lived and loved and suffered:—

‘The wave of the great sea talks aloud,  
Winter has arisen.  
What the flood-wave brings to thee,  
The ebbing wave carries out of thy hand.’

The glorious kings on whose plains she rode about in swift chariots with noble steeds have all departed:—

‘’Tis long since storms have reached  
Their gravestones that are old and decayed.



And as for herself :—

'I had my day with kings  
Drinking mead and wine :  
To-day I drink whey-water  
Among shrivelled old hags.

My arms when they are seen  
Are bony and thin :  
Once they would fondle,  
They would be round glorious  
kings.

The maidens rejoice  
When May-day comes to them :  
For me sorrow is meeter,  
For I am wretched, I am an  
old hag . . .

Amen ! woe is me !  
Every acorn has to drop.  
After feasting by shining  
candles [prayer-house !]  
To be in the darkness of a

Other poems display that artistic faculty of detailed description which we have already noticed in the sagas. And here the nature-poems call for special mention as the earliest of their kind in European literature. They are permeated with that rapturous love of nature which is generally looked upon as a sentiment of entirely modern origin. 'King and Hermit' is a colloquy between Guaire of Aidne, a well-known king of the seventh century, and his brother Marban, who has become a hermit. The king remonstrates with him for leading a retired and simple life when all the pleasures of the royal court might be his. The hermit answers, not in an austere or ascetic spirit, as one might expect, but extolling the delights of his forest dwelling above that of the king's palace itself :—

'I have a shieling in the wood,  
None knows it save my God :  
An ashtree on the hither side,  
a hazelbush beyond, [it.  
A huge old tree encompasses

Two heath-clad doorposts for  
support,  
And a lintel of honeysuckle :  
The forest around its narrow-  
ness sheds  
Its mast upon fat swine.

The music of the bright red-  
breasted men,  
A lovely moment !  
The strain of the thrush,  
familiar cuckoos  
Above my house. . . .

The voice of the wind against  
the branchy wood  
Upon the deep-blue sky :  
Falls of the river, the note of  
the swan,  
Delightful music !

A clutch of eggs, honey, deli-  
cious mast,  
God has sent it : [berries,  
Sweet apples, red whortle-  
Berries of the heath. . . .

Without an hour of fighting,  
without the din of strife  
In my house,  
Grateful to the Prince who  
giveth every good  
To me in my shieling.'



Mr Carmichael's work, entitled 'Carmina Gadelica,' affords a new proof of the longevity and tenacity of Gaelic oral tradition, for in it we find modern versions of poems which can, in many instances, be traced back to the beginning of Christianity in these islands, and in some even to pre-Christian times. Indeed, were it not for the introduction of Christian names, many of the songs would appear purely pagan. Even as it is, the figures of Christ and Mary, Patrick and Brigit, archangels and apostles, appear sometimes in the same poem side by side with Queen Maive and Emir, Carmac and Cairbre, Finn and Oisín, not to speak of fairies, brownies, kelpies, and glasticks. Mr Carmichael's two magnificent volumes—a worthy example of the perfection to which, under the skilful and artistic supervision of Mr W. B. Blaikie, the famous house of Constable has brought the art of typography—are the result of forty-four years' research and collection in the western isles, especially the Outer Hebrides. More than two hundred separate pieces have thus been written down for the first time. According to Mr Carmichael, he was but just in time to save these precious relics, which are now rapidly becoming inferior in quality as well as meagre in quantity. For religion, 'as understood and practised by a narrow-minded and fanatical ministry, has declared war against the innocent pastimes of a simple people, and suppresses them with intemperate zeal, forcing the itinerant minstrel to break his fiddle, thrashing girls for singing Gaelic songs, denouncing even the Gaelic language from the pulpit. Thus it happens that Mr Carmichael has derived his chief information from Catholic parishes, where greater freedom is allowed. In his introduction he gives a delightful picture of a *ceilidh*, or social gathering, at which stories and ballads are recited and rehearsed, songs are sung, riddles proposed, and proverbs quoted. In the words of the Highland song:

'In the long winter night  
All are engaged,  
Teaching the young  
Is the grey-haired sage,  
The daughter at her carding,  
The mother at her wheel,  
While the fisher mends his net  
With his needle and his reel.'

These stories and songs, if written down, would fill many volumes. One story alone, 'The Leeching of Cian's Leg'—a short Irish version of which will be found in O'Grady's 'Silva Gadelica'—occupies twenty-four nights in the telling. Mr Carmichael has limited his collection for the present to prayers, charms, and incantations. There is no phase or function of the life of the people, from morning to night, from the cradle to the grave, which is not hallowed by one of these. When kindling or 'smoor-ing' a fire, sowing or reaping, milking cows or marking lambs, warping or weaving cloth, bathing or hunting, even when entering the court-house as a litigant, a prayer or charm rises to their lips. Though the language be modern, the contents often recall ancient times. At weaving or 'walking' the cloth the women sing:

'May the man of this clothing never be wounded,  
May torn he never be!  
What time he goes into battle or combat,  
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his!'

When a man has shorn a sheep and has set it free, he waves his hand after it, and says:

'Go shorn and come woolly,  
Bear the Beltane female lamb!  
Be the lovely Bride thee endowing,  
And the fair Mary thee sustaining,  
The fair Mary sustaining thee.

Michael the chief be shielding thee  
From the evil dog and from the fox,  
From the wolf and from the sly bear,  
And from the taloned birds of destructive bills,  
From the taloned birds of hooked bills!'

As we should expect in all genuine Gaelic folklore, the Irish element is predominant, carrying us back to a time before the Irish colonisation of Scotland, or when a common tradition still united the two nations. Indeed, Scotland has preserved many an ancient Gaelic custom and tradition that has been forgotten in Ireland.

To the blending of paganism and Christianity we have already referred: in reality it is rather a combination of pagan cult with Christian faith. We find allusions to the worship of the sun, moon, stars, and fire. A charm for

making a person invisible to mortal eyes, or for transforming one object into another, bears the title *Fáth-fíth*, evidently identical with the old Irish *Fáed Fiada* said to have been sung by St Patrick when he changed himself and his companions into a herd of deer to escape the ambush. Other poems take us back to the dim times of early Irish Christianity. Thus the poem of the Lord's-day can, as Mr Carmichael observes, be traced back to the eighth century. It is indeed merely a versified form of the old Irish tract called 'Cáin Domnaig,' or 'Law of Sunday,' which still awaits publication. Like the latter, it prescribes the duration of Sunday.

'From setting of sun on Saturday  
Till rising of sun on Monday.'

It mentions the kinds of work from which all are to abstain, almost in the same order as the old Irish treatise:—

'Without taking use of ox or man,  
Or of creature, as Mary desired,  
Without spinning thread of silk or of satin,  
Without sewing, without embroidery either,  
Without sowing, without harrowing, without reaping,' etc.

And it permits the following occupations, also enumerated almost *verbatim* in the Irish text:—

'To keep corn on a high hillock,  
To bring physician to a violent disease,  
To send a cow to the potent bull of the herd,  
To go with a beast to a cattle-fold,  
Far or near be the distance,  
Every creature needs attention.'

Of saints, those most often mentioned in these invocations are Patrick, Brigit, with her cloak (*fo brat*, which the translator renders 'beneath her corselet'), Columkille, whose favourite day was Thursday, Ciaran, Moluag, Oran, and Adamnan.

But perhaps the most interesting of all the poems, certain to become the subject of much discussion and speculation among scholars, are the charms for bursting veins and sprains. These bear a surprising resemblance to the famous Merseburg charm, one of the very scanty pagan remains of Old High German literature. Like all

old German and Anglo-Saxon charms it is introduced by a short narrative giving, as it were, an instance of its application. Such epical introduction is never found in genuine Celtic charms, so that its occurrence in these Gaelic specimens at once betrays their non-Celtic origin. In the German version the gods Wuotan (Odin) and Phol (Balder) ride to the chase, when the leg of Phol's horse is sprained. Many goddesses, and finally Wuotan himself, sing charms over it, of which this is the burden :—

‘Bone to bone,  
Blood to blood,  
Limb to limb,  
As though they were glued.’

In the Gaelic versions it is Christ riding on an ass or horse, or St Brigit with a pair of horses, who heal the sprained or broken leg of the animal :—

‘She put bone to bone,  
She put flesh to flesh,  
She put sinew to sinew,  
She put vein to vein.’

As no borrowing from Old High German is to be thought of, we can only suppose that this charm has come into Gaelic either from an Anglo-Saxon or, more likely, a Norse source now lost to us.

Mr Carmichael has enhanced the value of his collection by a literal translation and notes containing a glossary of the rarer words, as well as the most varied information on many ancient customs now rapidly disappearing. He confesses that he has been unable to render adequately the intense power and supreme beauty of the original Gaelic, a sigh which every conscientious translator of Celtic poetry will echo. We cannot conclude without expressing the wish that Mr Carmichael may be spared to collect and publish every scrap of Highland lore which can still be rescued from oblivion.

---

# Art. II.—THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

1. *The Cambridge Modern History*. Planned by the late Lord Acton. Edited by A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes. Vol. I. Cambridge: University Press, 1902-3.
  2. *The World's History*. Edited by Dr H. F. Helmolt. English translation, with an Introductory Essay by the Right Hon. James Bryce. Vols I, IV, and VII. London: Heinemann, 1901-02.
  3. *Histoire Générale*. Edited by Ernest Lavisse and Alfred Rambaud. Twelve vols. Paris: Armand Colin, 1893-1901.
  4. *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*. Edited by Wilhelm Oncken. Forty-two vols. Berlin: Grote, 1877-93.
  5. *Weltgeschichte*. By L. von Ranke. Nine parts. Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1881-88. (Part I: *The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks*. Translated by D. C. Tovey and G. W. Prothero. London: Kegan Paul, 1884.)
  6. *Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung*. By Theodor Lindner. Vols I and II. Berlin and Stuttgart: Cotta, 1901.
  7. *Weltgeschichte*. By J. B. Weiss. Ten vols. Vienna, 1859. Third edition, twenty-two vols. Graz and Leipzig, 1889.
  8. *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Humanité*. By F. Laurent. Eighteen vols. Paris and Ghent, 1850-70.
- And other works.

THE conception of the past as a connected whole, and the attempt to gather its records within the limits of a single work, demand a somewhat advanced stage of intellectual development. For the Greeks, world-history meant nothing more in actual practice than a glance at recent developments in the lands with which they had been brought in contact. On the large canvas of Herodotus are portrayed some of the leading events in the history of the countries surrounding the eastern end of the Mediterranean, grouped round the central idea of a struggle between Greeks and Asiatics. But the Father of History, though nothing human was alien to him,

possessed no conception of humanity as a whole, was as weak in explanation as he was incomparable in narration, and lacked insight into general causes. No Greek, indeed, of the age of Herodotus or Thucydides could conceive of a universal history while there was no political unity, no single dominant influence apparent in the world.

In the two centuries that followed the age of Pericles events moved rapidly; and when Polybius was born, particularism, which had been the chief intellectual defect of the Greek mind, was giving way to the cosmopolitanism of Roman rule. The political extinction of Greece did but hasten the world-wide extension of Greek ideas; and the triumph of Rome over Carthage and Macedonia widened men's minds and rendered possible the conception of a unity among civilised races. The unique personal experience of Polybius, moreover, gave him a width of outlook possessed by no historian of the ancient world. He was fully aware of the limitations of particular histories, which, he writes, 'can no more convey a perfect view of the whole than a survey of the divided members of a body.' Like Thucydides, his constant endeavour is to trace the connexion of events, to explain them by the common forces of human nature, and to draw from them lessons of political wisdom for the instruction of statesmen. His great work is not only the first to omit the fabulous and the unessential, but also the earliest comprehensive and critical survey of the state of the world, so far as it was known—the first attempt to realise the idea of a world-history.

Though the expansion of Rome into a world-power made the writing of universal history possible, the Roman mind was unsuited to the task; and the fragments that we possess of such writers as Trogus and Florus prove them unworthy successors of Polybius. With the rise of Christianity a fruitful idea entered into historiography. The ancient world possessed no notion of a philosophy revealed in universal history. The conception of unity which was present to the mind of Polybius was purely external and adventitious. But with the fall of the Roman Empire and the triumph of Christianity a consciousness of the spiritual unity of the human race became possible. Political history was but a chapter of the annals of mankind. Above all, Christianity intro-

duced the conviction that history was the fulfilment of some divine purpose. In these ways the scope of history was immensely enlarged, and foundations were laid for the composition of universal history. The conception first took shape in the Chronicle of Eusebius, undertaken in the belief that it was the duty of the historian to look back to the creation, and to trace the histories of individual nations as parts of a single whole. Weak as is the work of Eusebius, it became, in the Latin version of Jerome, the foundation of the world-histories of the Middle Ages.

A century later, in the 'De Civitate Dei' of Augustine, and in the work of Orosius, the pupil of Augustine, we find the history of the world still more distinctly conceived as a whole. The capture of Rome by Alaric had led men to say that Christianity was the cause of the fall of the old Empire. The reply of Augustine and Orosius is that God has directed and controlled human affairs with a view to the triumph of Christianity, and that the fall of Rome was due to the vices of paganism; and they contrast the worldly ideal of temporal success with the divine ideal embodied in the Church. The work of Orosius, as its subtitle 'Adversus Paganos' implies, is more of a polemic than a history; but its importance is due to its being the first Christian world-history, and to its intimate connexion with the greatest Christian thinker of the West. If universal histories may be divided into the narrative and the philosophical, Polybius is the ancestor of the one, and Orosius, the interpreter of Augustine, is the prototype of the other.

By far the most interesting writer of universal history before modern times was not a Christian nor even an European. The remarkable development of art, science, and philosophy among the Arabs of the Middle Ages, and the debt of European culture to them, are generally recognised; but it is less commonly known that they produced an historical thinker of real originality, owing little or nothing to Aristotle, or to the thinkers from whom most of the Arabs borrowed many of their ideas. The universal history of Ibn Khaldun, written in the age of Chaucer and Petrarch, presents a panorama more extensive than any hitherto attempted, and contains a full and careful account of the Mohammedan world.



The teaching of Augustine and his followers invested the chosen people of God with such importance as to condemn less favoured races to oblivion and to jeopardise the unity of humanity. The Koran, on the other hand, which has exerted a paralysing influence on many departments of thought, contains no theory of history. The picture of the classical and Christian world, being drawn mainly from Oriental sources, is naturally far below the level of the narrative of the countries of his own faith; but the work remains a monument of extraordinary interest, and constitutes a decided advance, at least in plan, over any of its predecessors. The more famous 'Prolegomena,' which may be read in French, dealing with almost every problem of society and civilisation, calls for no special notice, except that we may say that it clearly grasps the truth, to which Christian historians were usually blind, that history is a continuous collective movement.

The modern period of the composition of universal history may be said to begin in the latter half of the seventeenth century with two books which open the long series of works representing respectively what may be distinguished as the philosophical and narrative schools of historiography. As it is the purpose of this article to examine the different methods of writing universal history, it is unnecessary to observe a chronological sequence. The more important works of the former class will therefore be noticed first.

The series of modern philosophical world-histories is opened by the 'Histoire Universelle' of Bossuet, published in 1681. The work, which was written to form one of the manuals of Bossuet's pupil, the Dauphin, possesses considerable interest owing to its magnificent style and the position of authority that it long held. The purpose of the book is stated in the opening pages, and the reader is never allowed to forget it. It is to justify the ways of God to man. But though Bossuet accepted the cardinal doctrine of Augustine—that history is the realisation of the purposes of Providence—he is free from the dualism which runs through the 'De Civitate.' Briefly put, Augustine is a pessimist, Bossuet an optimist. While secular history inspires the former with disgust and despair, to the latter it appears in the light of an orderly

development. The finger of God, he considered, could be traced in profane no less than in sacred history.

The work consists of three parts: a general sketch of history from the Creation to Charles the Great; a summary of the development of religion; and a survey of the fortunes of the empires. The narrative begins with what Bossuet, relying on Usher's chronology, imagined to be the date of the Creation, and its opening chapters are abridged from the pages of the Old Testament. The names that greet us are those of Adam, Noah, and Romulus; among events that loom large are the Deluge and the Siege of Troy. The second part is devoted to the Jews and Christians, all other sects being contemptuously brushed aside as idolaters. The third part relates the fortunes of empires; and as the nations of pre-Christian times are brought on the stage, the showman points out the place of each in the divine plan for preserving and educating the chosen people. The intention to continue the survey to the writer's own times was never accomplished. As a record of facts the book is utterly worthless; and indeed the 'Historian of Providence,' as Bossuet has been called, belongs rather to apologetics than to history. With the limited knowledge and unscientific temper that he possessed, it was easy for him to build the early part of his narrative round the history of Israel, and the later round that of the Catholic Church. His survey possesses a distinct unity, but the unity is achieved by the omission of all the factors which would weaken the stability of a highly artificial structure. For Bossuet's history is not an enquiry into facts but the demonstration and verification of a theory. His '*Histoire Universelle*' is a theodicy, not a history. On the other hand, it is but fair to remember that the book was written with a purely practical purpose.

Universal history lends itself with peculiar readiness to presuppositions; and, though the stand-points from which philosophical surveys are written differ very widely, their general character is identical, and their historical value for the most part equally small. Condorcet's '*Esquisse d'un tableau historique du progrès de l'esprit humain*,' enshrining a faith very different indeed from that of Bossuet, but no less exalted, attempted to explain the history of the human mind by the develop-

ment of the perfectibility implanted in the human race. The splendid optimism of the man who, while a hunted fugitive, asserted his belief in the irresistible march of enlightenment, forms one of the heroic pages of history.

The first propagandist world-history to combine learning and power was that of Leo. The thrilling emotions of the War of Liberation in Germany were soon forgotten; and the romantic movement in its later stages led direct to a rehabilitation of autocracy by historians and political thinkers. The work of Haller and Gentz was continued and extended to jurisprudence and history by Stahl and Leo. In 1833 the latter explained, in his 'Naturlehre des Staates,' the principles on which his history was shortly to be written. The ideas of the most moderate liberalism were as contemptuously rejected as the most extreme contentions of the French Revolution. The only real freedom, said Leo, was freedom in God. Liberty, in its common acceptation, was a fall from God. Humanity was a sentimental conception, and must not be allowed to interfere with the eternal principles of political order and moral obedience. These ideas are developed, both directly and incidentally, in the six closely packed volumes of the 'Weltgeschichte,' which appeared in the years 1835-1844. The introduction lays it down that the writer of history must show the freedom of man to reside in God, a phrase which is quickly found to denote in practice the authority of the Church. The history of the Church he declares to be the soul, the kernel, the truly animate part of universal history. The Roman Church, which men daily expected him to join, is treated as above criticism. The Reformation is savagely denounced as the beginning, and the French Revolution as the consummation, of the hated *Aufklärung*. The Teutonism of the book is rampant. The French are an *Affenvolk*; and the Celtic race is lashed with fury. The volumes are filled with the expression of the passions and prejudices of the author. The immense success of the book in the reactionary age of Frederick William IV was in large measure due to its faults. On the other hand, Leo had already made his name as the author of a valuable history of mediæval Italy; his knowledge was wide and his style was vigorous. The 'Weltgeschichte' of Leo is not one of the unnumbered compilations, with-

out colour or nerves, which bear that ambitious title, but a sustained polemic against liberalism in its history and principles. The reader may entirely disagree with his author, but his interest never flags. With one exception Leo's is the most personal of world-histories.

The exception is Laurent's '*Études sur l'Histoire de l'Humanité*,' the most eloquent and stimulating of all works on world-history. After studying in more than one Belgian university, and accepting a post at Ghent, Laurent published in 1850 three volumes of a work entitled '*Histoire du Droit des Gens et des Relations internationales*.' As the work grew, its title appeared to its author to be too narrow; and the fifteen succeeding volumes, the publication of which was not completed till 1870, received the title by which the work is always known. The dominant idea may be traced in both names, and would have been even more fully expressed in the title of a somewhat similar book which Bunsen was writing at the same time, '*God in History*.' The purpose of the author is to trace the progress of the race towards unity. History shows us a plan not originating with nature, with chance, or with man; for in looking back at a great cycle of events we can see that there was a plan running through them which was not perceived by those who took part in them. Laurent, like Pascal, declares the course of history to be nothing but the life of a single man, ever living and ever learning. He is convinced that, despite appearances, the world is not abandoned to force and fraud, for 'God is a power that bayonets do not reach.' Like Vico, of whom he reminds us in many ways, he declares that the providential government of the world is the base of all philosophy of history.

This conviction may be reached as the conclusion of a study of the past, or it may be the presupposition with which the student enters on his researches. With Laurent it is something more than a working hypothesis at the beginning, but his conviction is strengthened by every step of his journey. Indeed it is fair to say that his belief in the reality of progress is more an inference than a presupposition. Though Laurent is a theist, and not a believer in dogmatic Christianity, he fully recognises the immense impetus given by Christ to the cause of moral progress. A writer with so strong a conviction as to the

part played by Providence in the drama of history must take care lest his faith issue in a sterile determinism. Laurent is by no means fully conscious of the difficulty. His theory, roughly stated, is that God keeps the human race more or less on the right lines, while not interfering with the activity of the human will. He rejected the doctrine expressed in Hegel's famous formula, that the real is the rational; and he shared the spirit which prompted Renouvier to sketch in his 'Uchronie' an alternative history of Europe since Marcus Aurelius. In great movements it is clear that what man accomplishes is something less than what God desires. Bossuet and Laurent belong to the same class of writers, but they differ very widely. Bossuet's God stands afar off, but intervenes directly in the affairs of the world. Laurent's God is an immanent influence, slowly but irresistibly permeating the consciousness of mankind. If, as has been said, the God of Bossuet is a celestial Louis Quatorze, the God of Laurent is a limited monarch. While Bossuet simply refers the order of the world to the operation of divine will, Laurent endeavours to co-ordinate Providence with the powers and character of man. He is as strongly opposed to the doctrines of miracle as to those of fatalism. The purpose of God fulfils itself in the progressive, non-miraculous education of the reason and the will. Laurent's work is the most successful attempt on a large scale ever made to prove the existence of God from the course of history. Men and movements are judged throughout according to the degree in which they help or hinder the triumph of the moral principles, which for Laurent are the voice of God. The European wars of the fifties and sixties caused him to lament the weakening of the idea of right, and to reassert with passionate emphasis that its recognition, in the sphere of private morals, must be extended to public and international relations. The life of a nation is as sacred as the life of an individual; its honour should stand as high, and its principles of conduct should be the same. Small nations possess precisely the same right as large ones. It is hardly necessary to say that Laurent's dislike of force extends only to its unrighteous application. The liberation of Italy and the exploits of Garibaldi seemed to him the triumph of the ideas of right which bring mankind nearer to their goal.

If Mazzini had had the leisure and the learning to write a world-history it would have been not unlike that of Laurent.

The historical value of Laurent's work is independent of its philosophical basis. Each volume deals with some leading movement, which is discussed in every aspect. The work is primarily a study in the history of ideas, and the intellectual and spiritual life of man receives as much attention as his political activities. The seventeenth volume is devoted to the religion of the future, and the eighteenth to the philosophy of history. If we are to hear of final causes at all, no stand-point is less open to criticism than that of Laurent. His belief in divine government gives unity to the whole story of mankind, while his freedom from sectarian ties allows him to be just to pre-Christian history and to the many schools of thought into which Christendom has split during the last four hundred years.

Before passing from philosophical to narrative world-history we must linger for a moment over an essay in which the greatest of modern thinkers has discussed the method of writing universal history of which the above are examples. Kant's little treatise, one of the shortest and simplest of his writings, known to English readers in the excellent translation of De Quincey, appeared in 1784, under the title, 'Idee einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Hinsicht,' that is, 'The Idea of a Universal History on a Cosmopolitical Plan.' In a series of 'Propositions' Kant lays it down that, as a man only realises himself in the species, so the species only realises itself in a world-state. The history of the human race is the unravelling of a hidden plan of nature for achieving a perfect constitution for society as the sole state in which the tendencies of human nature can be fully developed. To this end the states of the world must organise themselves into a federation with a great cosmopolitan Areopagus. So far this is little more than a repetition of the idea of a world-federation which was attributed to Henri Quatre, was urged by Penn, Saint-Pierre, and other thinkers, and was subsequently elaborated by Kant in his essay on Everlasting Peace. But it is with the ninth Proposition that Kant's essay becomes of greater interest. Other writers have been content if a universal history vindicates the ways of God to man; but Kant



claims for the historian the power of aiding in the accomplishment of the purposes of Nature. Remote posterity, he tells us, will study and value the movements of the past according to the measure of their contribution to a cosmopolitan conception of society in theory and practice. We must not look for the purposes of Nature or Providence in another world; and therefore the composition of a universal history unfolding the purposes of Nature in a perfect civil union would help forward the purpose of Nature.

The criticism that Kant's essay provokes applies to all *a priori* constructions. His propositions are valueless as a key to history, because they possess no validity beyond what they derive from inductive study. No sound historical philosophy can be constructed independently of empirical history. Kant makes no attempt to characterise or define the influence by which things happen, and his adoption of the word 'Nature' suggests as many difficulties as the conception of God. To De Maistre history seemed nothing but a battle-field; and the thinkers who can find no definite purpose in history are at least as numerous as those who can. The data are so numerous and complex that any philosopher can find proofs of his system. If the philosopher could help the historian, the historian would welcome his aid; but philosophy herself is in doubt. No historian is called on to deny purpose. But to explain the history of the world by any *a priori* idea is fatal to the scientific character of a work. Study leads us to certain inferences; but these inferences are our personal convictions, not historical certainties. The historian knows of no law of progress, and has no right to assume that such a law exists. When Sainte-Beuve read Guizot's 'Lectures on Civilisation' and noted the exquisite way in which events and movements were made to dovetail into one another, he took down from his shelves a volume of the memoirs of De Retz. History is more than the daily and hourly struggles of the Fronde; but De Retz is nevertheless a wholesome if disagreeable corrective to Bossuet, to Laurent, and to Kant.

About the time when Bossuet was writing his 'Discourse,' the first world-history without presuppositions was written in Germany by Christoph Keller, more commonly known as Cellarius. Though the work is no

longer read, its importance in the annals of historiography should never be forgotten. The theory of the Four Monarchies disappears; and Cellarius divides his subject into three clearly defined periods, the first extending to Constantine, the second to the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the third to the writer's own time. The classification into three periods, which we now regard as axiomatic, was at the time of its appearance a daring innovation.

The first world-history on a large scale, the work of a group of obscure English writers, appeared in 1730 under the title of 'An Universal History from the Earliest Times to the Present, compiled from the original Authors, and illustrated with Maps, Notes, and Tables.' The claim advanced in the preface, to be 'by far the completest work of the kind ever offered to the public in any nation or language,' is fully justified. Though many parts are altogether valueless, the completeness of the work is astonishing. For instance, no subsequent world-history affords so much information in regard to the less-known peoples of the earth. The account of the nations and kingdoms of Asia and Africa, filling many volumes, would of itself suffice to render the book one of the most remarkable literary achievements of the eighteenth century. In its final form the work consists of no less than sixty volumes, eighteen of which are devoted to ancient times. The place of the English 'Universal History' in historiography, both as a pioneer and an influence, is one of great importance. The work was translated into several European languages, the German edition appearing under the editorship of Baumgarten, the theologian. When thirty volumes had appeared, Semler succeeded Baumgarten as editor and gave up the idea of completing the translation, preferring to entrust the writing of separate works to German scholars. An English abridgment was translated into German by the great scholar Heyne, without alteration, and was itself before long abridged by Gatterer.

By far the most important work inspired by this English history was that of Johannes von Müller, the outcome of life-long studies and of courses of lectures that had been delivered since 1778. The 'History of Switzerland' had raised its author at a bound to the front rank of

European historians; and, when the 'Universal History' appeared in 1811, its success was unprecedented, both in its German dress and in numberless translations. In learning, in style, in vitality, in freedom from prejudice, Müller surpassed all his predecessors, and produced a book which held its own as an historical manual till the appearance of the works of Weber in the middle of the century.

Müller's book was quickly followed by the first large world-history written by a single author—the 'Allgemeine Geschichte' of Karl von Rotteck, a book which is scarcely even a name to-day, though its appearance in 1812 supplied a real want.

The second was that of Schlosser, the founder of the Heidelberg school of historians. The first volume of a 'Weltgeschichte' was published in 1815, and the succeeding volumes appeared at long and irregular intervals. By 1841 the narrative had only reached the sixteenth century, for during the same period the author had published an independent work on 'The Ancient World and its Culture,' telling part of the same story on a larger scale. At this point it was suggested to him that a popular work might be made out of his previous books; and a pupil was employed to effect the transformation. In 1844 appeared the first volume of the well-known 'World-history for the German People,' for which the veteran author added a narrative of the last three centuries. The eighteenth volume appeared in 1857, and the work enjoyed an enormous success. Though Schlosser's name no longer commands the homage that once was paid to it, his great work, like his 'History of the Eighteenth Century,' possesses solid merits. The descriptions of culture are very full and, as a rule, admirable. Though the work is singularly free from political and religious prejudice there is no absence of colour; and the moral note, though not insisted on, is clearly sounded throughout.

The writer from whom probably the largest number of human beings have obtained their notion of world-history is Georg Weber, who delighted to call Schlosser his master. The first edition of the 'Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte' appeared in 1847, and the twentieth in 1888, in the author's eightieth year. A slightly smaller work appeared in 1851 and reached its twentieth edition in 1889. The 'Allgemeine Weltgeschichte,' appearing in

1857 in fifteen volumes, was written as a result of the immense success of the two smaller books, both of which were quickly translated into almost every European language. The larger work appeared in a second edition in the years 1882-89, bringing the story down to 1887. In all Weber's works the claims of culture to a place in history are fully recognised. The merits of his chief work are its fullness and its simplicity of treatment; and certain chapters, such as that on modern German culture, in the last volume of the revised edition, are excellent. But it remains the production of a very diligent book-maker. The author nowhere impresses us with the indefinable sense that we are in the hands of a master. In certain parts, moreover, he has failed to keep himself abreast of the progress of knowledge. From the whole treatment of early Jewish history in the 1888 edition of the handbook one would not know that Kuenen and Wellhausen, and other giants of Old Testament criticism, had ever lived. In the second edition of the larger work the treatment is improved, but it remains unworthy of a book of such pretensions.

Before we deal with the co-operative world-histories, we must mention the three best and most recent works by single writers. The 'Weltgeschichte' of Weiss, professor of history at Gratz, derives interest from the fact that its author is an Austrian, a Catholic, and a conservative; and that, as a result, many familiar themes are discussed from a new stand-point. Weiss declares that stationary nations stand outside world-history, which is only concerned with progress; and this he defines as the development of divine gifts. History as an organic whole includes thought; but culture is sparingly treated in the work, especially in the later volumes. The learning is immense. In the third edition, which has now reached its twenty-second volume, the author has kept well abreast of the enormous advances that have taken place since the appearance of his first edition in 1859. No part of the work falls below a high standard; and its scale is such that five of the large volumes are devoted to the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon.

Weber lived long enough to hail the appearance of Ranke's 'Weltgeschichte,' and to declare that the step-child of literature had been ennobled. Lorenz pronounced

the book 'canonical.' Whatever may be the ultimate judgment on Ranke's book, it is noteworthy as the only work devoted to the subject by an historian of the first rank. The news that Ranke was writing a 'Weltgeschichte' was not received without apprehension. His advanced age and the immense scope of the subject compelled admiration for the dauntless courage of the wonderful old man who contemplated an undertaking which he could hardly expect to finish. But there was also a wide-spread feeling of uncertainty as to whether a writer, whose works had dealt almost exclusively with the last four centuries, would be able to treat of the ancient and mediæval world in a manner worthy of the reputation he had won as the greatest of living historians. On the other hand, in far-off days at Leipzig, he had studied the ancient world with the utmost care, and in his lectures at Berlin he had often had to deal with the Middle Ages. No one has spoken more severely than he of the narrow specialists; and he used to declare that Niebuhr himself too often forgot the universal connexion of events. Intimate friends knew that the idea of writing a 'Weltgeschichte' had been present with him throughout life. In his studies of the nations of modern Europe he had always selected the period during which the life of a country was most closely connected with the general history of Europe; and the contribution of countries to the movements of civilisation is constantly before the writer's mind. In 1854, at the invitation of his friend Maximilian, King of Bavaria, he had given a series of lectures on the epochs of history from the rise of Christianity. Furthermore, the close personal relations in which he stood to Waitz, Sybel, Giesebrecht, Droysen, Jaffé, Dümmler, and numberless other pupils, had kept him informed as to the results of studies in fields to which he himself was unable to give detailed attention. His friend, pupil, and editor, Dove, relates that, in a preface dictated in 1880, the master declared that the book rested on his life's work and was the fulfilment of his life's wish. The preface was cancelled; but it is of interest as showing that, whatever apprehension was entertained in other quarters, the master himself approached his task without misgivings. Humboldt had always intended to complete his labours with a 'Cosmos,' and he had done

so. Ranke would do the same. The composition of the book forms one of the heroic pages in the history of scholarship. We learn from Dove that Ranke had never intended to narrate the history of modern times with the same fullness as the earlier ages, since he had already told a large part of the story in some sixty volumes. He had described the Crusades as fully as he desired when he felt the approach of death. He would be contented if he could live long enough to add a rapid sketch bringing the story down to the fifteenth century. The effort was made and succeeded; 'inter tormenta scripsi,' he wrote. The first volume appeared in 1881, and, when the hand of death was laid upon him in 1886, the work was practically complete.

Ranke, as the founder of the school of objective historiography, might be trusted to write a world-history without presuppositions. In his earliest years he had imbibed the teaching of Savigny, and, on the appearance of his first work, he had been denounced by Leo for his lack of philosophy. Throughout the long series of his works there is no mixture of philosophy with his narrative. There is no way, says Ranke, from the general theory to the contemplation of the particular; the historian must simply follow the march of affairs. Ranke speaks of 'ruling tendencies'; but they are summaries of facts, not their causes; characterisations of periods and movements, not their explanation. There may be real causal tendencies emanating from God; but how they come and why they follow one another in a certain order we do not know. The historian dares not explain anything by race or geography, for these factors only gain their meaning through history. In Ranke's narrative the personal is almost as completely absent as the philosophical. There are perhaps traces of religious bias in certain passages of the 'History of the Reformation,' but they are scarcely noticed. When he comes to the rise of Christianity in the 'Weltgeschichte' he declares that the nature of Christ does not concern him. Though professing himself 'ein guter evangelischer Christ,' he is concerned with Christianity purely as an historical phenomenon. 'The domain of religious belief and that of historical science,' he declared, 'are not opposed to one another, but distinct in nature.' His treatment of



the Church is entirely objective. He was blamed for this colourlessness, and certain critics deplored his lack of ethical impulse. Such criticisms Ranke regarded as his highest praise. On the other hand, his interest in history was thoroughly human; and he declared that the contemplation of the past often made his heart beat faster.

Such was the spirit of the work. What was its scope? A truly universal history does not exist, and will probably never be written. Every writer sets himself limits; and Ranke's preface makes his intention quite clear. The book is an essay, not a manual; a dissertation, not a work of reference. He conceives of world-history as a unity. He will deal with its broad currents, not with its sources nor its tributaries; the primeval world he will leave to science. Universal history begins where events become definitely known; it must also omit the stationary groups, for it deals only with the combination of groups into one progressive community, unified by its traditions, its culture, its religion, its great men. Asia stands outside this community, and is therefore omitted, except where it touches the life of Europe.

The first volume of the book was translated into English soon after its appearance; but it is on the whole the least representative part of the work. It deals with that section of the subject with which the author was least acquainted; and in no direction has the research of the last twenty-five years wrought such revolutionary changes. Babylon, Egypt, Crete, and early Greece convey to the historian of to-day meanings of which a writer a quarter of a century ago possessed no inkling. Nevertheless, in the opening volume, and still more in its successors, we never forget to whose voice we are listening. Ranke's style is often declared cold and even bald. Direct and unadorned it certainly is; but it possesses a simple majesty which, in dealing with great themes or in summarising the characteristics of a movement or an epoch, is extremely impressive. No writer of world-history has better understood or practised the art of omitting needless details and of bringing out in strong relief the salient points of the story. No work of Ranke's is written for beginners; but for a reader with some general acquaintance with past times his 'Weltgeschichte' may still be recommended in preference to any other

book as a masterly summary of the political history of Europe to the close of the Middle Ages. We do not look for an account of culture, for the subject is but sparingly treated in any of Ranke's works; but, where it is introduced, as in the case of the Greek tragedians, the discussion reaches a high standard of workmanship. On the other hand, the Church, in which Ranke was always deeply interested, is treated with great fullness and power. Equally remarkable are the portraits of great men—of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Constantine, of Charles the Great. Though the book, by its very nature, belongs to a different order from Ranke's other works, containing nothing that is new, it must ever remain an imposing monument of the learning and genius of its author.

The latest, and what promises to be the best, of world-histories by a single writer is now in progress. Its author, Theodor Lindner, professor of history at Halle, is known to all students by his excellent works on the Middle Ages. He compromises between the philosophical and narrative schools by devoting a preliminary volume to the theoretical part of his book. In his '*Geschichtsphilosophie*' (1901) he defines history as the record of the attempts made by man to satisfy his needs, bodily and emotional. Needs give rise to change, and every change gives rise to fresh needs. The instinct of improvement is as powerful and as fundamental as that of self-preservation. Consciousness of a need forms an idea; and history is built up out of the conflict of ideas. History is unified by the unchanging characteristics of human nature; but a world-history cannot be a history of humanity because humanity is not a unit. The unity is moral and not historic. Every world-history must therefore have something of the bird's perspective; every writer must choose and define his point of view. The stand-point Lindner assumes is the explanation of the present. The past lives in the present and explains it; and the study of the details of the past is obligatory only in so far as they contribute to the understanding of the present. The chief duty of the historian is explanation. His task is greater than that of a narrator and less than that of a judge. History becomes as nearly as possible objective when it studies only the causes and effects of change, when it enters a region, in Niebuhr's words, 'beyond good and evil.'

Subjective history, with its tests, its presuppositions, its formulas, robs the past of the chief value that it possesses, namely, its power of interpreting the present.

Lindner begins his work with the 'Völkerwanderung,' and, in the two volumes that have appeared, brings the narrative down to the twelfth century. Seven volumes are to follow. His plan of relating only what aids the explanation of the present leads him to omit the ancient world. To the obvious objection that the ancient world very clearly influences the present, he replies that it does so only as it entered into the consciousness of men at the end of the Middle Ages. To describe the Renaissance is to restate so much about the Greek and Roman world as the purpose in hand demands. Though the reader is warned not to expect long accounts of the more distant provinces of history, Lindner supplies in the first volume a careful sketch of the religious culture of China and India. Each volume closes with a summary and an index. No footnotes are given. The bibliography is short but excellent, the best books being named, and only the best. The sketches of culture are as admirable as the political narrative. If the work is carried to a conclusion with the same ability, it will deserve to displace all similar works as a handbook for the period of which it treats. Its freshness, its force, its width of outlook, its exclusion of unnecessary detail make it delightful reading. It approaches the work of Ranke more nearly than any other; but while Ranke's narrative is almost exclusively political, Lindner omits no aspect of the varied and many-coloured life of the past.

In the preface to his book Lindner apologises for his boldness in undertaking a world-history single-handed by declaring that the greatest need is unity of conception and treatment, and that this can only be attained by a single writer. A work of collaboration can be nothing more than a series of essays. The matter, however, is not so easily disposed of. Unity of conception is as important as Lindner believes, and the charm of colour and individuality is not to be underestimated; but other considerations are of at least equal importance. If a world-history is to be an essay or a handbook, unity of treatment is indispensable. But if it is to be something more, if it is to be a work for scholars, a work co-

ordinating the latest results of historical research in every branch, it must be written by many hands. The wonder inspired in us by the most encyclopædic work of our time, Meyer's 'History of Antiquity,' is a measure of the impossibility of any man writing a world-history for scholars. The nineteenth century has witnessed many works of collaboration. Though the histories of European states, begun by Heeren and Ukert and still in progress, cover the greater part of the ground, they were not deliberately planned to form a universal history; and it was not till the last quarter of the nineteenth century that co-operative world-history, after the lapse of nearly 150 years, was undertaken on a large scale. In the last thirty years several works of importance have appeared. A brief examination of them will show the possible methods of co-operative world-history, with the merits and defects of each.

The simplest plan is to divide the history of the world into a few periods, entrusting the whole of each period to a single writer. This system has been adopted in the 'Allgemeine Weltgeschichte,' in twelve volumes, the publication of which began in 1884, in which Justi and Hertzberg divide ancient history between them, Pflugk-Harttung describes the Middle Ages, Martin Philippsen the earlier part of modern history, and Flathe the period from the French Revolution to 1888. Each writer is in his own department a thoroughly competent and experienced guide; and as a concise political narrative the work possesses real value. The early volumes, which are the most important part, present a most useful summary of antiquity, which, as a rule, forms the weakest portion of an universal history.

The second way in which a co-operative world-history may be written is for a country or a short period to be dealt with by a single writer. This plan has been followed in the great undertaking edited by Oncken, and entitled 'Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen,' which appeared in 1877-1893. The division of subjects is partly by countries, partly by periods. The first of the four divisions of the work contains complete histories of separate countries by acknowledged masters; of Egypt by Eduard Meyer, Babylonia by Hommel, Persia by Justi, Israel by Stade, Greece and Rome by Hertzberg. In the

second, the classification is chiefly chronological, though Islam, early England, the Byzantine Empire, and the east of Europe receive separate treatment. The second division ends with Ruge's account of the Age of Discoveries, and Geiger's admirable study of the Renaissance. In the third division, the history of Europe is related in successive epochs by Bezold, Martin Philippon, Droysen, Erdmannsdörfer, and Oncken, additional volumes being devoted to special periods of English, Russian, and Austrian history. The fourth division, containing the history of the years 1789-1878, is narrated in periods, the American Civil War and the Eastern Question being treated separately. The work is, as a whole, of great merit, and must remain for a long time the indispensable companion of every historical student. Nothing of the kind has ever been written, and it is unlikely that a similar work will be undertaken again. As the field of history widens, and as knowledge increases, the tendency of editors is to employ more and more collaborators, and not only to break up the work into separate monographs, but to break up each volume into chapters. Oncken's work represented the subdivision of labour indispensable for accurate scholarship a generation ago; but for a work to possess the same authority to-day that Oncken's possessed during the years of its publication, the subdivision would have to be further extended.

The most comprehensive and scholarly world-history for the period which it covers is the great French work, in twelve volumes, appearing between the years 1893 and 1900, edited by MM. Lavissee and Rambaud. The book begins with the fall of the Western Empire, and comes down to 1900, four volumes out of the twelve dealing with the nineteenth century. The preface to vol. i declares the intention of the editors to devote special attention to '*les mœurs et l'esprit des nations.*' The hope excited by these words is not disappointed. In almost every volume chapters are devoted to the arts and sciences; in almost every volume French literature is described at some length. In every volume the economic condition of France is treated with the utmost fullness. It would have been impossible to treat the other countries of Europe with the same detail without expanding the work unduly; but in no single work, by one or many hands, is there to

be found an account of the historic life of the French nation so exhaustive and so satisfactory. A special feature of the work is the care with which the history of eastern Europe and of Asia is treated.

Such is the scope of the book; what of the contributors? The editors in the first place could not be better chosen. No living Frenchman has a wider experience of historical teaching than Lavissee; and, though his own works do not of themselves win him a place among the greatest of French historians, his wide acquaintance with mediæval and modern history and his strong personality make him an ideal editor. On him has fallen the chief burden of editing, his own contribution not extending beyond a few pages. His colleague, Rambaud, stands above all living French historians in the extraordinary range of his knowledge. He is equally at home in the west and east of Europe, in the Balkans and in Afghanistan. His 'History of Civilisation in France' is a classic; and his 'History of Russia' and his recondite Byzantine studies render him one of the greatest living authorities on the east of Europe. His contributions to the work are more numerous than those of any of the other writers, and would together fill one of the bulky volumes of one thousand pages. Among the contributors are to be found, with the exception of Monod and one or two others, all the names of those who constitute the glory of contemporary French scholarship. No large co-operative work has yet appeared in which the selection of writers is more representative and the distribution of subjects more satisfactory. For the Middle Ages we could have no better guides than Luchaire, Langlois, and Bémont. In French literature the writers whose names would at once occur to the mind are those who have been chosen—Petit de Julleville, the editor of the superb co-operative 'Literary History of France,' and Émile Faguet, the greatest of living French critics. Art has been entrusted to Eugène Müntz, well known for his works on the Renaissance; and the economic history of France to Levasseur, who tells a tale which no one else could tell with such authority. Indeed, throughout we seek and find the names of specialists who have already identified themselves with the subjects of which they here treat. Gebhart would naturally write on the Renaissance,



Buisson on French Protestantism, D'Avenel on Richelieu, Aulard on the French Revolution, Vandal on Russia and Napoleon, Houssaye on the fall of the Empire, Cordier on the Far East. In a few cases foreign scholars are employed. English and American history, which, as a rule, fares badly in foreign world-histories, is narrated without serious errors if without distinction.

The bibliographies placed at the end of each chapter are good and well classified. Worthless books are rarely recommended, and a brief critical note is in many cases added. The combined lists form a full and trustworthy guide to a knowledge of the literature of history, and constitute a notable advance on the bibliographic achievements of any previous work. On the other hand, there is no index, and the exclusion of footnotes is regrettable.

The most recent undertaking in the domain of world-history possesses special interest as the first English attempt since the work of the early part of the eighteenth century. It was indeed time that England should take her place among countries which can read world-history in their own language. The idea of a world-history, written by leading scholars of England and America, took shape soon after the appointment of Lord Acton to the chair of History at Cambridge. From the first, Lord Acton had no doubt that the model to be followed was the French work; but he used to add, 'it must be better than that.' The book was to be confined to modern times, and to consist of two parts, each in six volumes, the first extending from the Renaissance to the American War of Independence, the second to our own days.

The illness of Lord Acton in the spring of 1901 seemed to threaten the success of the undertaking; but the lines on which the book was to proceed had been laid down, and the chapters for the most part distributed. When it became evident that any great intellectual exertion would henceforth be out of the question, Lord Acton resigned the post of editor, still hoping to contribute to the work and to forward its progress by his advice. The improvement in his health which took place in the winter of 1901-02 allowed him to busy himself once more with collecting materials; but in June 1902 he passed away. He had given much time and thought to the chapter which was to form the introduction to the

work, an attempt to survey and estimate the legacy of the Middle Ages to modern times. It is to be deeply regretted that the chapter was not sufficiently advanced to take its place in the work which owes its inception and general character to him, and that he did not live to witness the publication of the first volume of the book. No other man of his time had accumulated a store of learning so vast and so varied; no man understood better the relative importance of the events and movements that make up modern history. No one was a better judge of the merits of the writers to whom the various themes should be entrusted. A difficult task is laid on those who, at the request of the University, have undertaken to continue Lord Acton's work.

The first question to settle in projecting a world-history is at what point to begin. The determination to commence with the later years of the fifteenth century is defended in a short introductory note from the pen of the late Bishop Creighton. While fully aware of the arbitrary character of all divisions of history, the Bishop maintains that the time that lies before the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is separated from us not only by the Discoveries and the Classical Renaissance, but still more by a revolution in ideas. An atmosphere of modernity makes itself felt above all in two great intellectual changes. The first is the growth of national feeling as the dominant force in public affairs; the second is the increased recognition of the individual, leading directly to the growth of religious and political liberty.

The second question is, what subjects shall be included. Lord Acton was of opinion that no department of human activity could be excluded from the province of the historian. On the other hand, even the largest histories have, for practical purposes, to be confined within certain limits. The preface to the first volume, signed by the editors, lays down the boundaries. The work is to present a story of continuous development, the histories of the nations being related, not for their own sakes, but according to the degree in which they influence the common fortunes of mankind. Some such attitude is implied in the conception of world-history. It was certain that in any undertaking in which Lord Acton's influence was paramount the limits should not be nar-

rowly drawn. In this respect the 'Cambridge Modern History' differs both for better and worse from its French counterpart. The preface informs us that no place has been found for a separate account of the development of the pictorial, plastic, and decorative art of the Renaissance; and the omission is defended on the ground that this would have entailed a history of artistic progress during later periods, which would demand too much space. The editors go on to state that 'politics, economics, and social life must remain the chief concern of this history. Art and literature, except in their direct bearing on these subjects, are best treated in separate works; nor is their direct influence so great as is frequently supposed.' Two excellent chapters are devoted to classical and Christian scholarship; but it is to be regretted that it has not been found possible to admit a chapter on art. A volume on the Renaissance without a chapter on art is an anomaly. A few paragraphs are allotted to art in Spain, the Low Countries, and Germany, in the chapters relating to those countries; but though Italy occupies a space in this volume almost as great as that of all other lands together, and although Italy was the centre of the artistic movement of the age, not a page is devoted to Italian art.

Mr Payne provides a welcome summary of a subject in which much has been achieved in the last generation. It will probably be new to some readers to learn that Prince Henry the Navigator does not strictly deserve the title with which he has been labelled by history, since his ideals were rather missionary than scientific. The pages in which Mr Payne illustrates the effect of geographical discoveries on the outlook of the Old World are an admirable specimen of the wide views for which a world-history is peculiarly adapted. One of the most valuable of the chapters on Italy is devoted to a study of the teaching and influence of Machiavelli, by Mr Burd, the author of the classical edition of 'The Prince.' If succeeding political thinkers, such as Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, are treated with corresponding fullness, the history will greatly gain in value and interest. The other individual honoured by a separate chapter deserves it less. Mr Armstrong's study of Savonarola is excellent, and it is something to possess a concise narrative in

which the side of Florence and the Pope is intelligibly presented; but Savonarola, though the most striking personality of his age, exerted singularly little influence outside Florence, and virtually none at all after his death. The chapter on Venice deals more fully with its earlier history than seems necessary in a volume in which the other Italian states appear on the stage with but scanty introduction or with none at all. The chapters on the Italian wars may appear to some readers rather overloaded with detail. The results of the wars and the redistribution of power among the Italian states must of course be clearly stated, but the details by which these results were arrived at might have been less copious, and the space saved devoted to a short study of the art of the age.

The account of the Netherlands, Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire provides the English reader with more new material than is to be found elsewhere in the book. The chapters dealing with the Church on the eve of the Reformation are contributed by Dr Barry and by Mr H. C. Lea. It was Lord Acton's wish that readers should not discover from the text the political or religious sympathies of the contributor; but he recognised that there were limits to impartiality, and determined to present a picture of the Church before the Reformation as it appeared to two judges, one of whom is a member of it, and the other outside its communion.

The bibliographical part of the work, filling one hundred pages, is altogether excellent. With the exception of England, every country is admirably treated, and works that are not of real value to the student are carefully excluded. An exception is rightly made in the case of Machiavelli, in regard to whom works of little value assume importance as illustrative of the extent and nature of his influence.

The last work which must be mentioned belongs to a different category, and marks an entirely new departure. It has hitherto been an axiom that universal history must be written chronologically, that is, that it must be presented approximately in the order in which events occurred. This presupposition is rejected in the most positive manner in a work edited by Dr Hans Helmolt, now appearing in Germany, and in a sumptuous and

richly illustrated English translation. The plan of the book is to substitute geography for chronology as the framework of the story, to divide the earth into districts or zones, and to trace the fortunes of each from beginning to end. The objections to this procedure are so obvious that we turn with interest to the reasons adduced in its favour. The works noticed above assume the unity of the human race, but Dr Helmolt and his colleagues know nothing of such an unity. To them a world-history is a history of the world, a history of all races and nations who have played a part in it, whether small or great. The savage races are as much the province of the historian as the cultured nations of Europe. The investigation of lower forms of civilisation, their ideals, their modes of life, has only become systematic in the last half-century; and such studies have profoundly modified the outlook of the historian. He may still regard the civilised nations as his central topic, but he dare no longer leave out of his survey the non-European races. The historic unity of the race being thus discarded, some other unifying conception must be taken as a guide. Dr Helmolt finds it in geographical distribution. The real unity is to be found in the historic life of portions of the globe.

This, in brief, is the plea put forward by Dr Helmolt for departing from the hitherto invariable custom of historians. The leading idea of the work is illustrated in a lucid and thoughtful introduction from the pen of Mr Bryce. A world-history, he says in effect, includes all races and lands, for nothing is without significance. It would be impossible, for instance, to give Iceland its proper place if the guiding principle adopted were the measure in which a country or a race contributes to the general progress of the world, or to the accumulated store on which subsequent generations draw. Its geographical situation has rendered it inevitable that the influence of Iceland on the outer world should be of the smallest, yet its achievements in literature were remarkable, and its political institutions of the greatest interest. The key to history is the relation of man to his physical environment, the most comprehensive of all relations. Its importance has been often recognised—by Bodin, by Montesquieu, by Herder, by Buckle, by Karl Ritter, by Ratzel, to mention only a few famous names; but it has

never been more concisely and convincingly set forth than in Mr Bryce's essay. The influence of nature on highly developed civilisation is in some respects even greater than in the primitive stages. Man is now in many ways the master of nature, but he is so only by the closest study of her forces. Where primitive peoples fought for a spring or a hill-top, nations now struggle for rivers and harbours. The origin of the differentiation of races is impossible to discover; but we know at least that the secondary differences arise mainly from the intermixture of races due to migration, and that migration itself is for the most part the result of scarcity of food. The important particular in which the history of America differs from that of Europe, namely, the importation of slaves, is directly owing to the heat of the climate, which indisposed white men to severe manual labour. Geography, in a word, affects races differently according to the stage of their development, but it is in all cases the necessary foundation of history. The editor follows with a vigorous chapter on the subject-matter and aim of the work. In the first place it was impossible to write a genuine history until it was recognised that every nation and race and age must have its place in it. In the second place the idea that it is the duty of the historian to discover the scheme of the universe has been discarded. His task is more modest—to exhibit the development of mankind in the various departments of his activity, in material and spiritual culture, in social and political institutions, in the substitution of law for instinct and custom.

Helmolt's 'History of the World' is, as has been said, the history of individual nations and groups. The inhabited world is regarded as lying round the Pacific, and the story begins with the eastern boundary, namely, America. The second volume is to contain Oceania and eastern Asia; the third is to be devoted to western Asia and Africa; the fourth, which has already appeared, describes the peoples of the Mediterranean; the fifth will describe eastern Europe; the sixth the Teutons and Romans; and the two concluding volumes the west of Europe. The bulk of the first volume is devoted to America; but while the prehistoric part is usefully discussed, the later history is scanty and second-rate.



The disadvantages of the method, too, are acutely felt when the foundation of the colonies is described in the first volume, while the political and religious controversies in Europe, which gave rise to colonisation, are discussed in a later part of the work. The danger of a work built round a single principle is that the latter should be extended beyond its legitimate sphere. For instance, the fourth volume, dealing with the Mediterranean peoples, speaks of 'the Mediterranean race' and 'the Mediterranean spirit.' Another disadvantage is that the story is often told twice, as in the case of Alexander, while the separation of the history of the coast of Asia Minor from that of the Greek mainland makes havoc of Greek history. It is unfortunate that, with some exceptions, the contributors are not historians of the front rank. The history of America, for instance, in the first volume, of Greece and Rome in the fourth, and of the Reformation in the seventh, are quite unworthy of a work of such pretensions. On the other hand, the reader finds information in regard to subjects usually omitted in world-histories, such as the Greek kingdom of Bactria, the early Christian communities of Asia and Africa, the history of Morocco and North Africa in the Middle Ages.

A final judgment on the execution of the work cannot be formed until its completion; but enough has already appeared to convince us that the plan of the book represents a departure from, not a development of, sound principles. Helmolt has performed a most useful service in vindicating the claims of outlying countries and backward races; but there is a sense in which the unity of mankind is a legitimate and indispensable conception. In an ever-increasing degree the main thread, the paramount interest, the unifying principle of history is the accumulation of ideas and experience. The foremost peoples of the world have reached a point where no valuable idea is lost and no significant achievement is left unrecorded. Universal histories tend to become as obsolete as cyclopædias; but their study and composition are, and must remain, valuable as an antidote, and indispensable as a supplement, to the growing specialisation on which the progress of knowledge depends.

G. P. GOOCH.

Art. III.—THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR.

*Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.*  
*An account of his life, mainly in his own words.* Edited  
 by G. R. Elsmie, C.S.I. London: Murray, 1903.

THE Life of Sir Donald Stewart records the career of one who will always be classed, by universal consent, among the very best of those distinguished soldiers who received their training, and found scope for their abilities, in that splendid military school, the Indian army. No service affords better opportunities to a man who knows how to profit by them, of proving such merit and ability as he may possess, or of showing versatility and resource in emergencies. The frequent wars and expeditions bring practical experience; the extent of the Indian empire takes him into widely different scenes and provinces, into contact with an extraordinary variety of races, whose names and methods of fighting are equally various; the needs of an empire that is constantly enlarging its frontiers call incessantly for energetic activity, rapid decision, and firmness in confronting unexpected situations. No officer of his time was better fitted than Stewart to avail himself of such openings for distinction in his profession. His innate sagacity, his intuitive understanding of native habits and character, his clear judgment and his power of circumspect deliberation before acting resolutely, were qualities which set him on the sure road to success in India, where the problems of war and politics are so often intermingled, and where the native army, formed out of an aggregation of regiments and even companies belonging to diverse tribes, castes, and creeds, contains elements of peculiar difficulty, sometimes of danger, to the British officers of every grade who are set over it.

It is not our purpose to review critically Mr Elsmie's book. The account of Sir Donald Stewart's life is given, as we learn from the title-page, 'chiefly in his own words'; and the arrangement and selection of his papers, particularly of his correspondence, has been very well and judiciously made. The method has some of the disadvantages, as well as the advantages, of an autobiography. On the one hand, some doubt may be felt whether it has placed before us a full and adequate por-

trait of Sir Donald Stewart, or has even done complete justice to all points of his character; for in regard to many things he was reticent. On the other hand, we have in his journals and letters a lively and interesting narrative of all that he saw and did at the most important periods of his military service; while the description of stirring events and scenes in which he took part has the impress of reality, and throws strong light on the state of affairs, the hazards and difficulties that were encountered, the political vicissitudes, the military operations, at the two most critical epochs of recent Indian history—the Sepoy Mutiny and the second Afghan War.

Stewart did not make an early start on that road of professional advancement which eventually led him to the highest distinction. He passed the first years of his service with the Bengal Infantry regiment, to which he had been appointed in 1841 on his first arrival in India, marching from one station to another in the interior provinces, rising from ensign to captain by the ordinary course of promotion, and engaged in the routine duties of a regimental officer at a distance from the field of the two fierce wars that terminated with the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. In 1852, when his regiment was posted at Peshawar, it formed part of a small force that crossed the border to punish a refractory tribe; and this expedition brought Stewart for the first time under fire. Mr Elsmie notes the remarkable fact that, of the comparatively few officers then engaged, no less than six rose afterwards to the first class (G.C.B.) in the Order of the Bath—a striking proof that for military training there is no better primary school than frontier warfare. But it was the sudden eruption of the mutiny, in 1857, of the Bengal army that gave Stewart his real opportunity, of which he availed himself with characteristic decision and hardihood. His regiment, then at Aligarh in the North-West Provinces, revolted and marched for the centre of the insurrection at Delhi; and Stewart left the station with the rest of the European officers, retiring eventually to Agra. But he was eagerly bent on joining the small British force that was already before Delhi, and with that object he undertook to carry despatches from Agra to the British commanders—a very perilous mission, since the intervening country was in wild confusion,

infested by rebel bands and roving parties of mutineers. His journey brought him several times into danger, but his presence of mind and shrewd audacity obtained the success that is apt to reward those who deserve it, and carried him safely into the English camp that lay on the famous ridge in front of the besieged city. From the end of June until the middle of September, when Delhi was taken by assault, he was incessantly engaged in the fighting line; and in the diary that he kept we have a vivid chronicle of the daily incidents, the changes and chances of a stubborn contest in which the lives of the whole English population in northern India, and the very existence, for the time, of the British government in the upper provinces, were at stake. At last, on September 14, the city was carried by storm; and Stewart's letter to his wife, ten days later, is dated from the king's palace, amid streets and bazaars riddled by shot and shell, in the same halls where, in January last, another king's coronation was celebrated by a magnificent ball.

Soon afterwards he was engaged on Lord Clyde's staff in the principal operations of the campaign, including the siege and recapture of Lucknow, by which the mutiny was gradually suppressed. He had now made his mark as an officer of exceptional ability, and on his return from sick leave in 1862 he became deputy adjutant-general; he served with distinction in the Abyssinian campaign of 1868, obtained promotion on his return, and was Superintendent of the convict settlement in the Andaman Islands when Lord Mayo was unhappily assassinated there in January 1871. When war was declared against the Amir of Afghanistan in November 1878, Stewart was on furlough at home; but he set off immediately on receiving an urgent recall to India, and on his arrival was placed in command of the British troops that were assembling to march upon Kandahar.

Beyond this point the main interest of the memoir lies in the additional materials that it supplies for reviewing the course and consequences of the Afghan war, in which Sir Donald Stewart won a great reputation, at Kandahar and afterwards at Kabul, as a soldier, an administrator, and a politician. We may observe that, up to the present time, the best sources, apart from official

documents, available for an exact and authentic history of this war have been biographical. In the second volume of his 'Forty-one Years in India' Lord Roberts has written an admirable narrative, full of colour and movement, of the first advance into northern Afghanistan, of his daring march to Kabul in the autumn of 1879, of the situation that followed his occupation of that city, and of his famous expedition from Kabul to the relief of Kandahar. Lady Betty Balfour's book on Lord Lytton's Indian administration relates the causes and circumstances which brought about the war, the policy of the British ministry, the vain efforts of the Viceroy to establish an alliance with the Afghan Amir, the friendly overtures, speedily followed by open hostilities, and all the mishaps and miscalculations that detained our armies for nearly three years in Afghanistan. Sir Donald Stewart's letters and memoranda from Kandahar and Kabul now furnish a valuable supplement to the annals of events and transactions that have had a most important influence upon the position and prospects of the British empire in India, particularly upon our foreign relations with Central Asia. They exhibit in detail the state of affairs while he held chief command in southern, and later in northern, Afghanistan; they describe the political complications, the engagements in the field, and the precarious negotiations which at last released our armies by placing a new Amir on the vacant throne at Kabul. We propose, therefore, to deal with this book as a contribution to the general history of our relations with Afghanistan, and to touch upon the present state of the political questions which rose to such a heated and stormy temperature some twenty-five years ago.

The motives and intentions of the British government, when war against the Amir Sher Ali was declared in November 1878, were substantially identical with the policy that sent an army against the Amir Dost Mahomed in 1838. In both cases the invasion of Afghanistan was provoked by our alarm at the discovery that overtures from the Russian government had been entertained by the Afghan ruler; while on both occasions our object was to defeat Russian diplomacy by force of arms, and to consolidate the supremacy of British influence at Kabul, by establishing there an Amir on whose adherence to our

interests we might rely. The immediate effect of our advance into the country was in each case the same; for in 1839, as in 1878, the Amir whom we were attacking abandoned his capital and fled toward the Oxus; and in both expeditions our real difficulties with the Afghan people began when we had succeeded in dethroning their ruler. Beyond these points of similarity, however, the parallel cannot be prolonged. In 1842, after more than two years' occupation of positions in the country, we abandoned our enterprise; the Amir Dost Mahomed recovered his kingdom; and nearly forty years passed before either Russia or England interfered, by arms or diplomacy, with the savage isolation of Afghanistan. During this interval the continuous expansion of Russian and English dominion in Asia had been closing up on either side of the Afghan territory; England had conquered the Punjab and had crossed the Indus; while Russia, having subjugated Khiva and Bokhara, had extended her power to the lands bordering on the upper Oxus river, on the northern frontier of Afghanistan; and all her movements in this direction were observed in India with jealousy and disquietude. For that great mass of hills and valleys that lies between the Oxus and the Indus may be compared, in regard to its political and strategical importance, to the situation of Switzerland in Europe; it consists mainly of rugged highlands overhanging the open countries on each side of it; it is interposed between the frontiers of powerful governments; and its occupation by one of them would give formidable advantages in threatening or attacking the other. These are the manifest reasons why the policy of the British in India has always been to maintain at all risks and costs the independence, under British protection, of Afghanistan.

Of this determination the Russians were well aware; and it must be admitted that in the spring of 1876, when Lord Lytton was appointed to the Indian viceroyalty, they had no desire to quarrel with us. In a remarkable interview between the Russian ambassador in London and the Viceroy designate, a few days before the latter left England, Count Schouvaloff formally disclaimed any desire to interfere with Afghan affairs; but he laid stress upon the expediency of establishing a cordial understanding between Russia and England in regard to



Central Asian questions, which were gravely complicated, he said, by mutual jealousy and mistrust. He complained that the English were attempting to check the advance of Russia toward Afghanistan by encouraging the Turcoman tribes to harass the lands that she had annexed; and he insisted, unanswerably, that these manœuvres only served to accelerate the very movement that they were intended to retard; for the Russian commanders naturally retaliated by punishing the tribes and seizing their country. So far the ambassador's remonstrances were well-founded; nor is there any reason for doubting the sincerity of his desire for amicable relations with England. Unluckily, he went on to recommend, as the first step toward friendly co-operation in Asiatic affairs, a proposal that his government had received from the Russian governor-general at Tashkend, to send an agent through Afghanistan to India with a complimentary letter to the new Viceroy. But if a Russian agent could so easily pass across Afghan territory, into which English agents were never admitted, it might be inferred that General Kaufman was already on better terms with the Amir than was quite agreeable to English views; so that the proposal rather increased than allayed our political uneasiness, and Count Schouvaloff's overture was politely declined. Lord Lytton carried to India instructions to forestall and bar out Russian diplomacy at Kabul by sending a British mission to the Amir for the purpose of negotiating with him a defensive alliance against all aggression that might be attempted on his northern frontier.

The Viceroy lost no time, after taking charge of the governor-generalship, in opening negotiations with Kabul. But the Amir had his grievances against the British government; his mood was sullen and resentful; he showed no eagerness for our alliance, particularly when he found that our offer to guarantee the integrity of his dominions was coupled with the express stipulation that British officers should be admitted to visit or reside at places on his northern frontier, where they could watch the movements of Russia. To this *sine quâ non* condition the Amir finally refused his consent; and the negotiations were broken off, leaving the two governments still more estranged than before they began. The result of this failure was that the Amir drew further away from

England and nearer to Russia, since he could not hold his balance without leaning toward one or the other. That this inclination should have been encouraged by Russia was natural enough; for, since we had rejected her plan of concerting some kind of joint political control over Afghanistan, she probably held herself free to act separately according to her own interests. How far the Russian statesmen might have ventured on this course is uncertain. It has never been their practice to risk an open quarrel with Great Britain upon an Asiatic question, which they have always treated as secondary to higher considerations of policy in Europe. But the connexion and interdependence of Asiatic and European affairs are in these days much closer than formerly; and a crisis in Western politics may decide the fate of some obscure ruler in the Far East. In the spring of 1877, just when Lord Lytton's negotiations with the Amir had been abandoned, war was declared by Russia against Turkey; a Russian army fought its way with great loss to Constantinople; the treaty of San Stefano was dictated to the Sultan at the gates of his capital; a British fleet was sent to the Dardanelles; Indian troops were summoned to Malta; and the Russian emperor was compelled to submit his treaty for revision to a congress at Berlin. The world-wide vibration of these resounding events was at once felt in Central Asia. Russia, checked on her path to Constantinople by England, resolved to deliver a counterstroke; she retaliated for our interference in Turkey by interfering in Afghanistan; and a mission was despatched from Tashkend to Kabul with proposals for an alliance with the Amir Sher Ali. As soon as this news reached India, the government notified to the Amir that an English mission would be sent to him; whereby he was placed in a most awkward and ominous predicament. He implored the governor-general at Tashkend to postpone the Russian mission; but General Kaufman replied that the Czar's ambassador could not be turned back, and that the Amir would be held responsible for his honourable reception. Sher Ali would not allow the English envoy to pass his frontier posts; and when Sir Neville Chamberlain was turned back by the Afghan officers, Lord Lytton sent an ultimatum to Kabul, demanding a satisfactory reply within a date specified. As no answer came within

the term fixed, the British government declared war upon the Amir. Meanwhile Russia and England had settled their differences in Europe by the treaty of Berlin; the Russian envoy had retreated hastily from Kabul; and its unlucky ruler was left to confront his enemies alone.

It is impossible not to commiserate the Amir Sher Ali, who had thus become the scapegoat of European politicians. He was now like an imprudent and ignorant man who has been enticed into partnership with an unscrupulous capitalist; and he discovered, too late, that Russia had been merely using him as a card in the great game that diplomatists had been playing round the table of the Berlin Congress. To his urgent entreaty for aid General Kaufman replied by advising him to make terms with the British government; but the British had now resolved to enforce by arms what they had failed to obtain by negotiation, and to bring Afghanistan substantially under their influence and control. On hearing that Roberts had defeated his troops at the Peiwar Kotal in December 1878, Sher Ali fled from Kabul across the Oxus into Russian territory; but the authorities gave him a very frigid reception, and persuaded him to return to his own country, where he died, ruined and broken-hearted, at Mazár i Sharif in February 1879. Before this time three British armies had taken up positions in Afghanistan. Sir Samuel Browne had pushed up through the Khyber defile to a point beyond Jelalabad, on the direct road from Peshawar to Kabul; General Roberts held the Shuturgardan pass on another route toward the capital; and Sir Donald Stewart had occupied Kandahar in January. His advance had been troubled by no resistance; but the difficulties of transport had been serious, for the Indian camels died by thousands in the marches across the bare tablelands, swept by the piercing wintry winds of northern Beluchistan; and Stewart's letters in Mr Elsmie's memoir give an animated account of the incessant exertions and endurance required for the safe conducting of a large force through a country where supplies and water were very scanty, where the population was passively hostile, and roads there were none. We have a picturesque description, by an eyewitness, of the first view of Kandahar.

'After passing over the flooded plain, we climbed a short, steep rise blocked with dead camels, and the vale of Kandahar lay spread before us. The morning, though brilliant, was hazy, and we saw no more than long mud-walls interlacing piles of ruins, skeleton groves of trees, and enormous cliffs beyond, backed by range on range of lofty mountains. Prospect more bleak could not be fancied. Far away, as it seemed through the haze, a large dome glimmered faintly, and two or three minarets could be seen with the glass. . . . We went on, stopping from time to time as the guns came to a standstill. The whole land was covered with ruins, watercourses, fields, and villages, each surrounded by its wall of mud. . . . Presently the natives began to show . . . they squatted on walls, crowded the broken buildings, sat on the trees and banks; an ill-looking multitude for the most part, but not dangerous. No one gave a word of greeting or menace; they sat with curious eyes and smiles of questionable meaning. . . . General Stewart alone seemed to impress them. This fine old soldier looked every inch the leader of a conquering host.'

For the fifteen months following, until Sir D. Stewart marched for Kabul at the end of March 1880, he governed Kandahar and the adjoining territory. Of his firm and politic administration the memoir relates little beyond what may be gathered from his letters to his wife; but these contain many facts and suggestive observations that are well worth noting by those whose fortune may possibly bring them once more into a country that has twice been the scene of our military and political operations. Stewart immediately set about housing his troops, draining the ground, making a survey, and constructing roads. In south Afghanistan timber is almost unprocurable; the villages look like beehives from a distance, with the domed roofs of their houses set in cement.

There is not' (he writes) 'a stove in camp; and we can't even get firewood here. There are no trees; and we cook with the twigs of shrubs and dry southernwood picked up on the plains. The country is like a desert, nothing but stones and rocks.'

The horses and camels were in a terrible condition. By March 1879 about ten thousand camels had already perished by cold and starvation, while the feeding of the men caused him great anxiety, since all European supplies

had to be brought from India three hundred miles or more through a barren region. The Afghan population let Stewart know that they could not fight us, but would worry us in every way they could devise. When Lady Stewart offered to join her husband, he replied:—

‘I like your idea of coming to Kandahar immensely! Why, parties of followers cannot move half a mile from camp without the chance of having their throats cut. Two sappers escorting camels were attacked three nights ago within a few hundred yards of their own camp. . . . These attacks are organised by persons from a distance who are instigated by fanatical priests.’

In the meanwhile Sher Ali's flight and death had left the country masterless; and our armies could only hold their positions until it could be ascertained what prospect there might be of dictating terms to a new Amir; for to push onward into Afghanistan would have only taken us further into the midst of a hostile population. The alternative of not waiting to find some one with whom we might negotiate, and of annexing for permanent occupation such portions of Afghan territory that we might desire to retain, came under discussion in these circumstances. Upon this question Stewart writes:—

‘For my part, I think we shall make a very great mistake if we annex any considerable part of Afghanistan. It is a wretched country, and could not support an army for any length of time; and I am quite sure that with all India at our back we could not keep up a force of 20,000 men in one place, and I don't think Russia could do much better than ourselves in that respect.’

His memorandum (pp. 263–5) on the strategical and political value of Kandahar is a document that has by no means lost interest or importance, for it is very possible that the pressure of events, or the relapse of Afghanistan into confusion, or some turn of political views and aims, may before long bring up the subject again as a practical proposition. He agrees that the city and its immediate vicinity provide a fairly defensible position, but he points out that we should also be obliged to bring under our control the surrounding districts, and to guard a long border-line by a cordon of outposts, so that we should have under-

taken the defence of an exposed and unsatisfactory frontier. In his judgment the possession of Kandahar would place us, therefore, in a false military position; while he was convinced that whatever border we might demarcate at first would prove no more than temporary, and that we should be speedily forced to enlarge it—that, in short, 'the most fatal of the objections to Kandahar as a frontier is its want of defined and defensible boundaries.' In regard to political considerations, he writes:—

'Though the people of this province profess to be tired of the Barakzye rule, it must not be assumed that they are prepared to receive us with favour. So far as I can judge, they detest us cordially; and I am under the impression that our immunity from anything like organised opposition is largely due to the fact that our dealings with the people were taken as an indication that our occupation is a temporary one only. . . . By restricting our advance to Pishin we have a strong and, in most respects, a satisfactory frontier; and from that position we can lay our hands on Candahar at any moment; and this being so, I fail to see why we should anticipate events by undertaking a costly, onerous, and exceedingly troublesome charge, involving, as it must, the government of a large province inhabited by a warlike, fanatical, and turbulent population, whose independence it is our interest to foster, and whose friendship we should do our utmost to secure.'

Here we have on record the deliberate and weighty opinion of one who may be placed, without hesitation, first among Anglo-Indian authorities of that day, founded upon a rare combination of actual experience, high military capacity, and that sound political insight which takes a clear and comprehensive survey of the true facts. It embodies the views and arguments that were acted upon, at the war's end, by Lord Ripon's government; and all subsequent experience has attested the soundness of that conclusion.

But we must go back to the situation in northern Afghanistan in the spring of 1879. The English forces were stationary, as has been said, half-way on the two routes toward Kabul, marking time in the hope that the Amir Sher Ali's abdication would bring forward a successor with whom a settlement of the objects contemplated by the war might be effected. Some of these had already been accomplished. We had defeated the late



Amir's troops wherever they had appeared; the Russian envoy had made an undignified retreat; and we had extracted diplomatically from the Russian government a formal promise to abstain from further interference in Afghanistan. At this moment, however, the whole country beyond the range of our military control was in a state of disorganisation, and the position of our armies in standing camps surrounded by hostile tribes was evidently of a kind that could not be indefinitely prolonged. We might, indeed, have fallen back upon the expedient of annexing by proclamation such portions of Afghan territory as would be necessary for the protection of our frontier, and then leaving the Afghans to settle their own internal affairs; but this would have been to abandon the chief motive of our policy, which was the consolidation of British influence at the capital. The Viceroy wrote to the Secretary of State in January 1879: 'We cannot close the Afghan war satisfactorily without an Afghan treaty; and we cannot get an Afghan treaty without an Afghan government willing to sign and fairly able to maintain it.' When, therefore, the communications that had been opened with Yakub Khan, Sher Ali's eldest son, received an amicable reply, it was welcomed as offering a fair prospect of an issue from a situation of awkward immobility. Yakub Khan, on his side, was in need of British support to seat him on his father's vacant throne and to overawe probable rivals, so that both parties had strong reasons for coming to a speedy understanding. Our terms were the cession of certain strips of territory that would secure to us the command of the main roads and passes leading into Afghanistan from India, and the admission of a British envoy to reside at Kabul. To the latter of these two demands, which was the essential point of our negotiations, Yakub Khan, somewhat to our surprise, acceded easily; and after some demur he agreed to the assignment of territory; so the Treaty of Gandamak, signed in May 1879, was acclaimed as attesting a triumphant termination of the war.

Our readers will understand, we trust, that in this brief recapitulation of events that are inseparably connected, directly or indirectly, with Sir Donald Stewart's career, our purpose has not been merely to supplement

the narrative contained in Mr Elsmie's book. The study of recent political history is important not only for the light which it throws upon the road that is behind us, but also for our guidance on the road in front; it emphasises the warnings of past experience; and when, as in the case of Afghanistan, we have still before us a problem whose conditions remain practically unaltered, the examination of previous attempts to solve it can never be unprofitable. With this principle in mind we may proceed to the sudden and startling catastrophe which obliterated, within three months, the Gandamak treaty, and rekindled fiercer hostilities than those which its ratification seemed at first to have extinguished.

Sir Louis Cavagnari, a very brave and capable officer, was rewarded for the signal ability with which he had negotiated the treaty with Yakub Khan, by being appointed envoy at Kabul; and he arrived there in July 1879. His general impression, as given in his letters, of the state of affairs at the new Amir's court, was not unfavourable, though the Afghan people looked askance, in their sinister way, at the British embassy; and he perceived that Yakub Khan's authority was not yet fairly established. The Amir showed no unwillingness to keep his engagements with the British government; but he was surrounded by intrigues and disaffection. On the one hand, the presence of unpopular foreigners damaged to some extent his prestige; on the other hand, the envoy, whom the Amir was bound to consult on various questions, was considered by public opinion to be more or less involved in the responsibility for unpalatable measures of reform and finance that were supposed to have been taken by the ruler with his advice. There prevailed a vague expectation that the treaty would place at Yakub Khan's disposal the bottomless purse of the Indian government, and particularly that all the arrears of pay due to the Afghan army, which had accumulated during the interregnum, would be disbursed on the envoy's arrival. The situation was evidently unsettled, yet there were no symptoms of danger; and the last message received from Cavagnari on September 2 merely contained the words 'All well.' But one day later the smouldering embers beneath his feet broke out into flame. On that morning three Afghan regiments were at the

Kabul treasury for the distribution of their pay; it was tendered to them for one month; but the soldiers insisted on the arrears due to them, and when this was refused they attempted to force their way into the Amir's palace. It is alleged, probably with truth, that their attack was diverted toward the British Residency by some official instigation. At any rate they turned with a rush upon the Residency, and were met by a shot from the sentry there, when they assaulted the house furiously; and after a desperate defence Cavagnari, with all his staff and escort, perished under the burning ruins.

The annals of the British in India record several dire catastrophes, but no event has so tragically illustrated the perilous hazards of dealing with the untamed Asiatic, or the snares that beset those who put their trust in Eastern princes, as this startling and savage outbreak. It was indeed a sharp turn of fortune's wheel, for the whole fabric of our new political edifice, that had been built up on our alliance with the Amir, Yakub Khan, was shattered by this explosion; the treaty became waste paper; and we had to begin the war afresh, this time against a much more serious antagonist than an unfriendly Afghan ruler—the intractable Afghan people. It was remembered that in 1841 a British envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, had been treacherously murdered at Kabul; and a similar fate had now overtaken Sir Louis Cavagnari. But at any rate in 1879 the military situation was very different, for this time our troops were not cooped up within the mountains, to be destroyed as they retreated through the passes in the depth of winter; they had been already withdrawn across our northern frontiers, except where they held strong posts on one line of advance. And fortunately Sir Donald Stewart had not yet evacuated Kandahar. He was at once invested with supreme authority over all southern Afghanistan, with an Afghan governor to carry on the civil administration under his direction; and for the next six months the turbulent Afghans had their unique experience of a government sufficiently firm and impartial to convert them, for the time, into a pacific and orderly population.

During this time the course of affairs in northern Afghanistan had run much less smoothly. When the news of Cavagnari's murder reached Simla, General

Roberts instantly marched upon Kabul by the Shuturgardan pass, which our troops still held, receiving in his camp the Amir Yakub Khan, who sought refuge with the British troops. The Afghan army was defeated at Charasia, the city was occupied in October, and the British commander assumed military possession, by proclamation, of the place and the districts adjacent. Then again supervened the inevitably recurring dilemma which has more than once brought our operations in Afghanistan to a standstill—a situation that may be likened to that of a man holding a fierce wolf by its ears—when we had to choose between the risks of staying and of going, of retaining or relinquishing our conquests, of endeavouring to establish some government, or of leaving the Afghans to settle their own affairs. The situation was similar to that in which the British had found themselves just forty years earlier, with this difference, that in 1839 our troops had brought with them from India an exiled Amir, Shah Soojah, whom they had placed on the throne. But as it soon appeared that this prince could not hold his ground without our support, his presence increased our difficulties much more than it relieved them. In 1879 Yakub Khan's conduct freed us from all responsibility for supporting him; but otherwise our position at Kabul was much the same politically. The government of India proposed a trenchant solution of the problem; they were ready to annex permanently Kandahar and some other districts, and to assume full authority over the rest of Afghanistan for such time as might be necessary for the formation of some other government that might be suitable and acceptable to the Afghan people. The British ministry, however, were indisposed to sanction the assumption of such grave and hazardous responsibilities; so the military occupation of Kabul and its environment was continued, in the hope that some definite issue out of the predicament might be discovered which would enable us to withdraw without leaving the country in masterless confusion. This stationary and indecisive attitude soon produced its inevitable consequences; for the Afghans, who had at first supposed that we intended to withdraw after avenging Cavagnari's murder, as we had withdrawn in 1842 after punishing Kabul for Macnaghten's assassination, now began to

fear that we intended to remain. So they organised a formidable insurrection which forced General Roberts to retire within his fortified camp outside Kabul, they cut off his communications, and for some days held him beleaguered, until the failure of a desperate assault upon his position broke the fighting strength of the tribes and compelled them to disperse. It was probably due to the foresight and military skill of Roberts in fortifying and provisioning beforehand the strong enclosed camp at Sherpur that the recurrence of some such disaster as that which overtook the British army of occupation at Kabul in the winter of 1841-42 was this time averted. In January 1880 tranquillity around Kabul had been restored, communications with India had been reopened, and the Afghans were watching the course of events with sullen resignation; but we were still holding the wolf by his ears, and a safe and honourable escape from the dilemma had yet to be discovered.

For Kandahar, at any rate, our plans were arranged. The province was to be made over to an Afghan Sirdar, Sher Ali, under the protection and with the support of a British force, to be placed within convenient distance of the city; and Sir Donald Stewart, after making over the government to him, and after transferring the military command to General Primrose, set off for Kabul in March 1880. On his route he met with serious opposition at one place only, Ahmud Khel, where a large gathering of the tribes made so sudden a rush upon his troops at a halting-place that for a few minutes his fighting-line was thrown into temporary disorder. A vivid description of the engagement, by General Chapman, is to be read in Mr Elsmie's book, from which a short extract may be made to illustrate the devoted gallantry of the assailants, who charged cannon and rifles with swords and knives.

'Suddenly, while I was speaking to General Hughes, we found ourselves under fire, . . . and in an incredibly short space of time two long lines of swordsmen seemed to spring from the hill, extending so as to envelop our right and left. Down they came, at least 3000 in number, sweeping over the intervening ground with marvellous rapidity, and quite regardless of our fire. These fanatic warriors were on foot; but right and left, to get round the flanks, rode horsemen with standards; the whole hill seemed to be moving. . . . In

five minutes the whole line was engaged; the Ghazis reached our guns and forced them back to a safer position, drove in a squadron of cavalry on our left, and penetrated dauntlessly close up to the position occupied by the General and his staff, some of them being killed within 30 yards of us.\*

Another eye-witness wrote:—

‘Our line had not been formed five minutes, when over 3000 *Ghazis*, splendidly led, with a profusion of standards, made a magnificent charge downhill right at us. Half of them were mounted; they came on at full gallop, and never swerved for a moment; there was just an instant when affairs assumed rather a grave aspect. The troops, however, soon regained confidence in themselves and their weapons, and the enemy never had another chance, though they made a succession of the same brilliant charges with diminishing numbers, but with no decrease of the most reckless and desperate courage.’

No braver or fiercer charge was ever made by wild highlanders; and it must be confessed that the British force was both surprised and shaken by this sudden onslaught, and that it was saved mainly by the disciplined steadiness of the best troops, among whom one regiment of Sikhs, who are always good at need, particularly distinguished itself. The enemy suffered so heavily in this engagement that Sir Donald entered Ghazni two days later without resistance; and his march onward toward Kabul was for the most part through a tract that had been plundered and deserted. By the first days of May he had assumed supreme military and political authority in northern Afghanistan.

Before this time Lord Beaconsfield's government had become exceedingly anxious to find some clue that would lead them out of the Afghan labyrinth. The English public had been seriously startled by the news that a general insurrection had endangered the position of our troops at Kabul in December; and almost simultaneously Sir Bartle Frere's enterprise against the Zulu king had received a disastrous check at Isandula. The forward policy, which had been in the ascendant, was falling rapidly into discredit; and Mr Gladstone was thundering

---

\* Elsmie, p. 332.



against an ambitious, incompetent, and unscrupulous ministry. In these circumstances the whole attention of the Indian Viceroy was preoccupied by the urgent necessity of finding some fit and capable successor to Yakub Khan at Kabul, who would undertake the rulership in north Afghanistan, and would thereby provide at least a colourable pretext for the dignified retirement of the British garrisons. At this conjuncture the Sirdar Abdurrahman, a grandson of the Amir Dost Mahomed, whose hereditary claim to the throne was very strong, crossed over into the northern province of Afghanistan from Russia, where he had been living for twelve years in exile. It was clear that he would soon be at the head of a powerful party in the country; and the first idea of converting a dangerous pretender into a useful ally emanated from Colonel St John, who was on Sir Donald Stewart's political staff at Kandahar, where some members of the Sirdar's family were still residing.

The Indian government eagerly seized this chance of deliverance from an untenable position; and overtures were made to Abdurrahman, with the result that when Stewart assumed the direction of affairs at Kabul he found the negotiations in full progress. To follow in detail their circuitous and varying course is unnecessary. In England Lord Beaconsfield's ministry had by this time fallen; and in India, Lord Lytton, who resigned the viceroyalty, had been replaced in June (1880) by the Marquis of Ripon, who at once wrote to consult Stewart on the state of affairs in Afghanistan. In a long letter to the new Viceroy, Sir Donald surveys the general condition of the country, discusses the military and political arrangements required by our general policy of maintaining our influence and control, agrees that Abdurrahman, if he could be induced to deal with us, might well have our support, but does not conceal his opinion that, in any event, the British forces ought to be withdrawn before the year's end. As matters turned out, under the skilful handling of Mr Lepel Griffin, the chief of Sir Donald's diplomatic staff, Abdurrahman was gradually drawn into a confidential understanding with the British government, although the negotiations more than once nearly broke down; and when, at the end of July, the Sirdar had been formally recognised as Amir before the chiefs and people

assembled at Kabul, Sir D. Stewart was free to make his preparations for the return march of his army to India.

But Afghanistan has a stormy political climate, where the calm intervals are treacherous, and nothing is more probable than what is unexpected. In May 1880, Sirdar Ayub Khan, one of the late Amir's sons, who had taken up his quarters at Herat, began to move with a force upon Kandahar; and in July his approach to the city created such a general fermentation among the Afghan people that, unless he could be driven off, an insurrection in his favour was to be apprehended. The levies raised by the Sirdar to whom we had made over the provincial government mutinied when they were sent out against Ayub Khan; and it was clear that the British garrison, surrounded by disaffection and threatened by a hostile advance, could rely on nothing but their own fighting strength to defend the city. Accordingly, General Burrows led out a force to meet the enemy; and an engagement took place at Maiwand, where Ayub Khan's army, which greatly outnumbered the British and had better ground, won a signal victory. It was a battle on a scale comparatively small, yet we doubt whether Anglo-Indian troops had ever before been so completely defeated in the open field; for they were routed with very heavy loss, and made a disorderly retreat upon Kandahar. There the news of this disaster had produced a discreditable panic; and the British garrison hastily shut itself up within the walls of the town, to be soon after besieged or at least blockaded there by Ayub Khan.

When the news of this defeat reached Sir D. Stewart at Kabul, he noted in his diary, 'This is the worst misfortune that can happen to us here. It is impossible to say how Abdurrahman will take it.' At the moment when we had recognised him as Amir of Afghanistan, had installed him in the government, and were preparing to withdraw from his capital, a new and formidable competitor, the representative of the family that we had displaced, had appeared to dispute the rulership with him, and had opened his campaign by a severe and successful blow. The urgent necessity of delivering a speedy counter-stroke was obvious; and as General Roberts at once proposed to lead a force from Kabul for

the relief of Kandahar, no time was lost in making preparations. At this crisis the behaviour of Abdurrahman proved that he was not one of those puppet princes whom the British have more than once set up, and who totter to a fall as soon as they lose the support of foreign auxiliaries. If on this occasion he had felt himself so insecure at Kabul as to be compelled to desire that the British troops should remain to prop him up, our embarrassment would have been most serious; but on the contrary he expressed a strong desire that we should not delay our departure; and he evidently believed that it would rather strengthen than weaken him, because the people would hail his accession to power as the signal of their release from the yoke of foreigners. There were also most imperative military reasons why the retirement should proceed at once, while the country along the line of route was tranquil, and the supplies had been stored at the halting-places. Upon all these considerations, which were explained by Sir Donald Stewart in a masterly despatch to the government of India, it was agreed that, so soon as General Roberts should have marched for Kandahar, the rest of the British army should evacuate northern Afghanistan and cross the frontier into India. The passage of our troops through defiles where another retreating force had been cut to pieces in 1842 was effected, as Stewart's diary shows, without the slightest opposition—the tribes had passed the word down the line not to tread on the snake's tail—and by the end of August their arrival in British territory ended a long and laborious expedition.

To describe Sir Frederick Roberts' brilliant march upon Kandahar, the dispersion of Ayub Khan's army, and the relief of the British garrison, would take us beyond the scope of this article. Just as in 1843 General Nott successfully led his force from Kandahar to Kabul, where he made his junction with General Pollock, and thence passed to India along the route afterwards traversed by Sir D. Stewart, so in 1880 Roberts, starting from Kabul, brought his victorious troops out of Afghanistan by the way of Kandahar. And the experience of the two wars goes to prove that a compact and highly-disciplined body of troops, skilfully commanded, can move rapidly throughout the length and breadth of the country,

but that stationary positions and prolonged occupations are invariably so dangerous that any mishap or blunder may bring on eventual disaster. It is for the most part a land of rugged mountains, deep valleys, high wind-swept plateaux, and arid plains, with some fertile tracts on the north and west, but guarded on its eastern flank toward India by successive hill ranges; and on this side the only open routes into the interior are from the south-east, through Sindh and Beluchistan. It has a warlike population, animated by an intractable hatred of strangers in race and religion, always ready to fight stubbornly for their national independence. Our military operations in such a country have twice brought us into the gravest peril, and on two occasions our political measures for establishing a friendly government have broken down. Shah Soojah, whom we attempted to set up in 1839, was murdered as soon as we became unable to protect him; and in 1879 Yakub Khan only reigned three months.

Our third experiment in king-making was more fortunate, because we hit upon an able and popular candidate, who was more independent of our assistance, and who, indeed, had a fair chance of winning the prize by his own resources even without the advantage of our extraneous support. We had cleared the ground for him by evicting the rival branch of his family, by whom he had been expelled twelve years earlier; we provided him with arms and money; and the rest was accomplished by his own resolute and relentless ability. Nevertheless, Abdurrahman had to face and overcome serious risks before his seat could be made secure. When Ayub Khan, who had retreated to Herat after General Roberts' victory, discovered that no British soldiers were left in Afghanistan, he moved southward again with a fresh army, defeated the Amir's troops on the Helmund, and in July 1881 was once more in possession of Kandahar. It was a moment of critical suspense for the Indian government, since if Abdurrahman, who marched against him from Kabul, had suffered a reverse, his defeat would have involved, for a second time in two years, the failure of our attempts to establish a friendly Amir in Afghanistan. All the fruits of a long war would have fallen with him; and we might have been confronted, instead, by a triumphant and hostile ruler, who had once beaten us in

fight, and would have won his throne in defiance of our efforts to exclude him. Luckily, however, the wheel of fortune this time turned in our favour, for Abdurrahman overthrew his rival under the walls of Kandahar, capturing all his guns and equipage; and thenceforward, for twenty years, the Amir's dominion was uncontested in the country, over which he gradually extended and consolidated his authority.

The eventual result, therefore, of the second Afghan war was to accomplish the ends that the British government in India had been pursuing for more than fifty years. A strong and capable Amir had been placed on the throne, who gradually united the whole territory under his sway, and who accepted an arrangement which invested our government with a virtual protectorate over Afghanistan. We became pledged to defend the ruler from external aggression, so long as he should follow our advice in regard to foreign affairs. It should be clearly understood that this arrangement rested on no treaty, but only upon an assurance formally given to Abdurrahman, on his accession, by the government of India; for experience has proved that treaties between civilised and uncivilised states are usually embarrassing to the former, because a civilised state is bound by the strict terms of a contract, while the other party is often unable, sometimes unwilling, to observe them. And in point of fact the preservation of the integrity and independence of Afghanistan, which has been, and still is, the object of all our efforts, depends not so much on the behaviour towards us of its ruler, as upon the condition of the relations between England and Russia. The Amir, Habibulla, who now reigns at Kabul in his father's stead, has hitherto been fairly successful in maintaining internal order, and shows a friendly disposition toward the British connexion; but a Russian force is stationed close upon his north-western frontier, and on the vital question of non-interference with Afghan affairs the attitude of the Russian government has latterly been not altogether satisfactory. This situation obviously contains a persistent element of insecurity, since the whole political future of Afghanistan, and indeed of Central Asia, must always be affected by any grave misunderstanding between the two dominant European Powers.

The end of the Afghan war terminated Sir Donald Stewart's active services in the field; and he had now to receive their reward. He was at once placed in the Governor-General's council, as military member, and in 1881 he became Commander-in-Chief of the Indian army, with a baronetcy and a grant of 1000*l.* annually for his life. Mr. Elsmie's memoir contains numerous extracts from Stewart's papers and correspondence showing the vigilant attention that he paid to the course of events in Afghanistan and the movements of Russia beyond, and attesting the energetic support that he gave to measures for improving our position on the north-west frontier of India. By Lord Lytton's government the province of Kandahar had been reserved from the territories which were to be made over to the Amir of Kabul, and had been formed into a separate State, to be administered by an Afghan Sirdar, with the support of a British resident and a British military station. With the consent of the Sirdar, who preferred a liberal pension in India to an uncertain and unpopular rulership in Afghanistan, this arrangement was cancelled by Lord Ripon and the Liberal Cabinet at home; and our frontier outposts were withdrawn to Quetta in Beluchistan. Although Sir D. Stewart seems at first to have had some doubt in regard to the expediency of this measure, which is now generally admitted to have been wise, he appears to have soon acquiesced in it heartily, turning all his attention toward strengthening the position at Quetta by the construction of a railway to our new frontier from India.

'When we have got the railway to the Khojak [a range of hills on the extreme border of Beluchistan] I shall be quite happy, as operations in Southern Afghanistan will then be comparatively easy. We shall hold Candahar in the palm of our hand without the trouble of holding it before we require it. . . . I have long seen that, whether our policy is a forward one or one of what is called masterly inactivity, it is our duty to have our frontier communications as complete as money can make them.'

With an effective advocacy of this system he combined very earnest exertions to obtain an increase of the English regiments to be permanently stationed in India. He writes in 1884:—



'I cannot accept the responsibility of remaining silent when I am convinced that our present establishment is unequal to the task of holding India and defending Afghanistan too. . . I am determined to have the matter officially considered ; that is my duty, and I shall not evade it. It would be a great relief to me to find that I am judged to be wholly in the wrong, for I am fully alive to the financial difficulties of the case. At the same time I feel so strongly the dangers of our position that I feel under an obligation to retire from the office I now hold if Her Majesty's government will do nothing to meet the requirements of the present situation.'

These views prevailed, after some hesitation and delay, but not before an unexpected event had justified his precautions. In the spring of 1885 the Amir Abdurrahman met the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, at Rawalpindi in the Punjab, at a time when the demarcation of the north-west frontier of Afghanistan was under settlement by a joint commission of Russian and English officers. One disputed point in the line had been occupied by a detachment of Afghan troops, who would not give way to the Russian demand that they should retire from it, whereupon the Russians drove them off by force of arms. It will be recollected that this collision at Penjdeh nearly brought on a rupture between England and Russia ; and in India immediate preparations were made for the contingency of war. The quarrel was fortunately adjusted peaceably, for the military resources of India, though they would have been powerfully reinforced from England, would have been terribly strained by a campaign against Russia in northern Afghanistan ; but the risk that we ran proved a mighty argument to enforce Sir D. Stewart's warning that our frontier communications were imperfect and our army inadequate.

When, in October 1885, Sir Donald Stewart resigned the post of Commander-in-Chief, the Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin, bade him farewell at a banquet in a speech (Elsmie, p. 428) that contained a just and generous appreciation of his character and of his public services. From December 1885 until his death in March 1900, Sir Donald Stewart was a member of the council of the Secretary of State for India, where his influence was almost supreme upon military questions, while in regard to political subjects, which in India have usually an impor-

tant military bearing, his advice always carried great weight. That exuberant growth of imperialistic aspirations which Lord Salisbury has called megalomania—*anxiety for distinction, eagerness to seize any opportunity that may occur during the few brief years of high office or command*—has latterly fostered an ardent and sanguine spirit among rising men, who are not always unwilling to run their country into a scrape if it is likely to give them a chance of pulling her out again heroically. To prepossessions and projects of this sort Sir Donald Stewart's solid and critical judgment, based on a clear perception of things as they really are, not as they seem to be, was an excellent antidote. For a true and altogether admirable sketch of his character and of his work at the India Office we may refer our readers to a letter in Mr Elsmie's book (p. 448) from Sir Arthur Godley, who was Under-Secretary for India during the whole term of Sir Donald's membership of council, and who attests his extensive knowledge of all subjects relating to India, his insight, shrewdness, tact, moral courage, and unvarying good-humour.

To those who have studied attentively the last fifty years of our Indian history, it will be clear that two prominent events far exceed all others in importance—the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and the second Afghan War. The former was a catastrophe never likely to recur, though it stands as a warning to the British government, the only European Power that has had the courage to maintain a large native army in its Asiatic dominion, that the handling of such an instrument requires the utmost vigilance and address. But the story of the Afghan War is full of lessons that the present generation of Indian statesmen and soldiers would do well to get by heart; since the stability of our relations with Afghanistan and with Russia beyond is still uncertain; and the problems, political as well as military, which the situation inevitably involves, are still no nearer to a definite solution than before. It will be fortunate indeed for our rulers if, at some future emergency, they have at hand another so able a soldier and so trustworthy a counsellor as they found in Sir Donald Stewart.

---

#### Art. IV.—THE IMPROVEMENT OF BRITISH FORESTRY

1. *Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire into and report upon British Forestry.* (Cd. 1319.) London: Spottiswoode, 1903.
2. *Reports from the Select Committee on Forestry.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on 24th July, 1885, 6th September, 1886, and 3rd August, 1887. (Commons Papers, 287 of 1885, 202 of 1886, 246 of 1887.)
3. Articles on Arboriculture, published in the *Quarterly Review*: (1) Vol. ix, p. 45; (2) Vol. x, p. 1; (3) Vol. xxxvi, p. 558; (4) Vol. xxxvii, p. 303; (5) Vol. xxxviii, p. 410; (6) Vol. lxii, p. 332; (7) Vol. xcvi, p. 431; (8) Vol. cxlii, p. 50; (9) Vol. clxxix, p. 177.
4. *Select Pleas of the Forest.* Edited for the Selden Society (Vol. xiii, 1899) by G. J. Turner, M.A. London, 1901.
5. *A History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight (The Victoria History of the Counties of England).* Vol. II: article on *Forestry and the New Forest.* London: Constable, 1903.

THE important question of forestry in Britain has on several occasions formed the subject of special articles in the *Quarterly Review*. The first of these was a review of Evelyn's 'Sylva,' in 1813, in which endeavours were made to encourage the national and patriotic work of planting, in spite of 'the pressure of the present times, which bears with peculiar hardship on all owners of small landed estates.' Somewhat earlier than this period the introduction of the larch from the Alpine districts had formed a new epoch in the history of planting. Large plantations of this tree had been made in Scotland; and it was thought that the then existing national danger arising from a probable failure of the supply of home-grown oak timber to meet the rapidly increasing demands of the naval dockyards and other shipbuilding centres had been entirely obviated.

The second article, in October 1813, reviewed certain papers on the impolicy of employing Indian-built ships, made of teak timber, in the East India Company's trade and admitting them to British registration, with the first report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests

(1812). The shipbuilders of London had memorialised government with a view to the prohibition of further shipbuilding in India, asserting 'that there is not any real scarcity of oak timber in Great Britain.' But there was only too abundant evidence to the contrary. At that time the effect of the continental wars was to cause the grubbing up of large areas of woodland for conversion into arable land, because the stiff soils on which the oak thrived best were just those most suitable for growing corn. And when the woodlands were cleared away it was seldom that fresh land was planted to restore the deficiency. Indeed, with regard to Kent and Sussex, famous for their growth of oak, Arthur Young tells us that not one acre was planted for fifty acres of woodlands grubbed up. Hence the shrewd forecast was made that 'our immediate reliance for relief must rest chiefly on the teak of India'; and the practice of building ships of the line in Bombay, then recently begun, led to the present great and valuable export trade in teak timber from British India, which has now extended to Siam. This article contains a remarkable prophecy regarding the possibility of substituting 'ships wholly constructed of iron' for those built of oak.

Sir Walter Scott's remarkable forestry articles, 'On Planting Waste Lands' and 'On Ornamental Plantations and Landscape Gardening,' appeared in October 1827 and March 1828. These two famous articles drew attention to a subject that was then admitted to be of the most momentous interest to this country. So early as 1810 Lord Melville, writing to Mr Percival on the subject of naval timber, had sounded the alarm regarding the decay and destruction of the national forests, had urged the advance in the price of fir timber (in addition to the immense increase in the special demand for oak, and the inadequacy of the existing woodlands to meet this increasing demand), and had deplored the apathy with which government, trusting to commercial enterprise, omitted to provide for evils which seemed rapidly advancing, although the means of obviating them lay close at hand. It was then estimated by Lord Melville 'that certainly not less than twenty millions (of acres) are still waste,' which, he maintained, ought to be planted for the benefit of the country and of the nation.

Sir Walter Scott's two articles in reality formed one comprehensive essay on the best manner of planting for profit, shelter, and ornament; and this essay contains, apart from its literary value, so much of shrewd common-sense as to be still worthy of careful study. The author drew a clear distinction, and one that has unfortunately not always been kept in view, between plantations intended principally for profit and those raised chiefly for the purpose of ornament. Maintaining, quite correctly, that these two kinds of planting must be considered as different branches of the art of arboriculture, he devoted himself in the article 'On Planting Waste Lands' to the consideration of planting mainly for profit, and in that 'On Ornamental Plantations and Landscape Gardening' to the adornment of estates and the beautification of the grounds immediately surrounding the landowner's residence.

Soon afterwards, in October 1828, an article 'On Cultivation of Waste Lands' again briefly recommended extensive planting in the Crown forests and on other lands. It was then urged that it was desirable to sell every part of the Crown forests not already covered with thriving plantations, and to invest the proceeds in the purchase of other wastes, which would answer even better for the growth of timber.

In March 1855 the well-known works by Brown, Johns, and Selby, together with the first and second reports of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests under the new Act of 1851, were reviewed. This article was again of the directly practical nature of Sir Walter Scott's essay in 1827. It went into the question of the most useful timber trees to plant on waste lands and in situations where agricultural crops could not be raised with profit, and it noted the various points to be taken into consideration in laying out plantations—such as soil, situation, and exposure, drainage, enclosure, and fencing, preparation of the soil, planting in pits and in notches, the number of plants to be set per acre, and the proper season for planting. Some of the statements and arguments contained in this valuable article are incorrect as viewed by the light of our existing knowledge, but in its main outlines it is still worthy of careful study. The remarks on the advantages of mixed plantations of hard

woods, and the arguments in favour of the pinaster or maritime and the Austrian pines for shelter-belts along the sea-coast, and of Scots pine and larch elsewhere, hold good now just as they did half a century ago; as does also the discussion with regard to the initial density of plantations, whether the plants should be put in at from three to five feet apart (4840 to 1742 plants per acre), or at a wider distance of six to eight feet (1210 to 680 plants per acre). It was truly remarked that,

'which of these extremes should be approached depends on the joint consideration of the character of the plantation, whether exposed or sheltered, and the probability of a demand for small timber-thinnings in the locality. In sheltered situations, or where there is no such demand, five feet will be found a convenient distance; but in exposed districts three feet may be made the limit, and on no account should it exceed four.'

As an ordinary rule, four feet (2722 plants per acre) may be taken as the average distance of planting throughout Great Britain; though, of course, the question of greatest profit depends partly on the market for early thinnings and partly on the kind of tree planted. Thus a plantation of Douglas fir at six feet (1210 plants per acre) will, from the individual habit of growth of this most valuable tree, at fifteen to twenty years of age, be quite as densely stocked as a larch or pine crop planted at four feet; because, in addition to a rapid rate of growth in height, exceeding that of the larch, it throws out thin lateral branches which soon interlace and die off through want of light.

The last of this long series of essays, that on 'Forestry,' which appeared in July 1894, was a reversion to the more purely technical aspects of the subject, namely, planting for profit, and the application of business principles to the management of the existing woodlands throughout Great Britain. It is self-evident that, so long as the protection of game forms, as is usually the case, the main object of management in the woodlands, these portions of large estates cannot be expected to yield the full amount of timber, or the profit which they might easily be made to furnish, if the chief object of management were the growth of timber. Some years previously, in 1885, a parliamentary committee had been



appointed to consider the question of forestry in Great Britain; and their report was published in August 1887. In 1889 and 1890 a similar committee inquired into and reported on the administration of the Crown woods and forests; and these two reports were the main subject of consideration. Attention was called to the fact that a merely partial effect had been given to the committee's recommendations. These were (1) that woodlands might be made more profitable if more attention were given in the selection of the kind of crop and better management applied after its formation; (2) that, apart from any immediate pecuniary benefits, great social and economic advantages would be gained by giving early consideration to the very important question of forming extensive plantations in western Ireland and the Scottish Highlands; and (3) that government should adopt special measures to disseminate technical education in the art of forestry, as practised in other countries which have given business-like attention to the subject.

It is only fair to say that something on these lines has been attempted. Successive governments have contributed annually towards maintaining a lecturer on forestry at Edinburgh University; they have instituted a chair of agriculture and forestry at Newcastle; to a small extent they have supported the technical education of foresters and woodmen at different places of instruction; and a large plantation has been formed on the sea-coast of Galway, under the Congested Districts Board. But, so far as any great improvement in our national arboriculture is concerned, it has for several years been evident that the recommendations in the report of 1887 were almost a dead letter, and that a fresh inquiry was necessary to bring the question of British forestry prominently before the public, the landowners, and the government with any hope of compassing its improvement.

To enable any one to grasp the real question at issue, and to understand the reasons for the past neglect of arboriculture with which the nation is chargeable, he must know something of the past history of timber cultivation in Britain. No book has yet been published which makes any attempt to give a complete historical sketch of forestry in Britain, or to show how the development of such arboriculture as has hitherto been practised

originally sprang from, and has always been closely associated with, the administration of the Crown forests and of the woodlands contained within the afforested limits. Fortunately, however, the main outlines of an historical sketch of this sort, sufficient for the present purpose, can easily be drawn in a very brief form; and it seems desirable to give them before considering in detail the advice tendered by the late departmental committee to the President of the Board of Agriculture, because the recommendations now made are likely to be the last official utterances that will be heard on the subject for a long time to come.

Even in very early Saxon and Danish times tracts of woodlands and of wild uncultivated heaths and moors appear to have been reserved as royal hunting-grounds; and one of the earliest extant specimens of West Saxon legislation consists of King Ine's laws (690-693 A.D.), by which penalties were imposed on the burning of woods and the destruction of mast-bearing trees. On the Norman Conquest William I succeeded to all these royal hunting-grounds scattered over many counties, and he increased their areas largely, their boundaries simply being extended 'by order of the king,' as is explicitly stated in the part of 'Domesday Book' referring to the Forest of Dean. Each of these royal sanctuaries for deer and other game was now, for the first time, termed *foresta*, after the continental usage, and was subsequently known in Britain as a 'forest.' Definite laws were no doubt in force during the Saxon and the Danish periods with regard to the royal hunting-grounds; but the so-called laws of Canute, supposed to have been passed at Winchester in 1018, are now regarded as later Norman forgeries; and the first genuine code of forest laws was that known as the Assize of Woodstock, issued in 1184. Although this stringent and despotic code was sensibly modified by the Carta de Foresta (1217)—a charter which contemporaries ranked with Magna Carta itself, and which was regularly confirmed with it—a struggle continued between the kings and the barons with regard to the application of the law, the former constantly endeavouring to afforest fresh tracts or to re-afforest purlieus that they had been compelled to disafforest, and the latter seeking on every opportune occasion to mitigate

the severity of the forest laws and to restrain the king from applying them to unafforested lands.

The work on the 'Select Pleas of the Forest,' which Mr G. J. Turner has edited for the Selden Society, gives a very good idea of the state of affairs during the thirteenth century, and is by far the most complete record we possess of the forests and the forest courts from the reign of King John to that of Henry III. After the death of Edward I, in 1307, affairs were somewhat better than they had previously been; and thenceforth, though trouble arose at times between the Crown and the great landowners, there were no sweeping changes in the forest law down to 1640, when the Act for the Limitation of Forests gave the death-blow to afforestation and to the greatest legal abuses chargeable to the forest laws.

Originally, therefore, the forests of England were royal hunting-grounds, and they had little or no direct connexion with the growth of timber. These forests usually included woodlands of a greater or less extent, which formed coverts for the game; but the essential point with regard to any forest was that, whether wooded, waste, or mere open heath and moor, it was subject to the forest law and not to the common law. By 1482 legislation for the preservation of woods had become necessary, an Act for inclosure being then passed to permit the fencing in of coppicewoods for three years. This was purely a permissive Act, applying only to the royal forests, chases, and purlieus; but the 'wastage' or clearance of woods proceeded everywhere so rapidly that an Act for the Preservation of Woods had subsequently to be passed (1543), an Act of an entirely prohibitive and compulsory nature, which applied to all woods throughout England. Twelve standard trees of oak or other timber had to be left on every acre of coppice harvested; the copses had to be fenced for from four to seven years according to the age at which they were felled; whilst heavy fines and penalties were inflicted for contravention of the new Act. The many provisions in this 'Statute of Woods' show very clearly how even then, 360 years ago, the question of maintaining adequate supplies of timber in Britain was recognised by the government as a matter of great national importance. Matters, however, soon drifted from

bad to worse, as was apparent from surveys made to ascertain the stock of oak available for the future supply of navy timber. In 1570 the time of enclosure had to be extended for two years in each case, and steps were also taken to make extensive plantations of oak in the New, Dean, and Windsor Forests, the first of all of these being, it is said,\* a patch of thirteen acres sown with acorns in Cranborne Chase, within Windsor Forest, shortly after it had become known to the government that the commander of the Spanish Armada had explicit instructions to destroy the Forest of Dean, the finest oak forest in Britain. But, though the demands for oak timber were growing, the supplies for future use were diminishing; and the outlook became more and more serious. All through the reign of James I efforts were made, by exhortation and by royal example, to urge landowners to plant timber and to manage their woodlands in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Statute of Woods. Arthur Standish (in his 'New Directions of Experience,' etc., 1613, 1615) proposed that 240,000 acres should be planted and preserved to supply timber to the kingdom for all time; and King James expressly commended the work (in a prefatory page) to the best consideration of landowners. But still the 'wastage' of the woodlands went on, although much was done during the Commonwealth to promote the growth of timber within the Crown forests.

At the time of the Restoration the national outlook for oak timber had become gloomy in the extreme. The Commissioners of the Navy, alarmed at the want of oak, formally requested the recently founded Royal Society to suggest a remedy; and the result was the publication of Evelyn's 'Sylva' in 1664. Already, in 1662, an Act had been passed prohibiting the importation of pitch, resin, deal boards, fir, and timber from the Netherlands or Germany 'under any pretence whatever,' in order to encourage the growth of trees in England and to develop the growing timber trade with the North American colonies—a prohibition which was repealed, as regards Germany, in 1803, while an import duty was placed on timber, tar, etc., in 1807.

From these facts it will be seen that even about 250

---

\* W. Menzies 'Forest Trees and Woodland Scenery' (1875), p. 132.

years ago Britain was already dependent on her American colonies for timber, though she still strove to maintain home-grown supplies of oak; the English oak being then held to be the best shipbuilding timber in the world. Special Acts were passed for increasing and preserving the timber in the Forest of Dean (1668) and the New Forest (1698); and in 1704 the felling or destroying of immature pitch pine or 'tar trees' in the North American colonies was prohibited under heavy penalties; while additional protection was given to these colonial woodlands in 1710 and 1713, and large bounties were offered for the importation into England of tar, pitch, resin, and mast-pieces from the pine tracts of northern Scotland. In 1714, 1715, 1719, and 1722 various Acts were passed to encourage the planting of timber trees and to afford protection to plantations, and others again in 1756, 1758, 1766, and 1773 for the enclosure and planting of commons, and for the cultivation and the better preservation of trees, woods, underwoods, etc.; while, in 1765, bounties were offered for the import from the North American colonies 'of any good, sound, and merchantable deals, planks, boards, and timber' into any part of Britain.

A committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1771 to consider the supply of navy timber; and no better idea can be given of the dismal outlook then than is conveyed in the fact that, in 1772, an 'Act for the more effectually securing a quantity of oak timber for the use of the Royal Navy' did nothing more or less than prohibit the East India Company, under a penalty of 5000*l.* for each ship 'built or begun to be built,' from increasing the tonnage of their fleet beyond 45,000 tons—the tonnage of the navy being then about 400,000 tons, and that of the whole British mercantile fleet being about 800,000 tons.

In 1786 a royal commission was appointed by a special Act of Parliament to report on the Crown woods and forests. It worked continuously till 1793, submitting in all seventeen reports, which form a valuable quarry for students of forestry. Want of space precludes more than one short extract, of great interest, which states \*

'that the Inclosures which had been made in New Forest were neglected and the Trees suffered to grow up so close, for

---

\* Eleventh Report, February 6, 1792, p. 14.

want of proper Thinning, that few of them are likely ever to be fit for the use of the Navy; . . . and' with regard to 'the Plantations in New Forest . . . about 800 acres are entirely destroyed by Rabbits, bred by the Keepers for their own Profit.'

This passage exhibits very well the fundamental difference between the aim of the old English national system of arboriculture and the object of modern forestry. Tough, curved, and crooked timber was wanted then; smooth, clean stems are now desired. It also records and accounts for what must surely be one of the earliest cases, if not perhaps the very first recorded case, of extensive damage done to a plantation by rabbits, one of the chief destructive agents in modern woodlands, and the greatest pest in plantations, from the forester's point of view.

The recommendations made by this commission extended not only to the planting of oak in the royal forests, but also to the formation of large plantations of pine and larch in the poorer tracts unsuitable for the growth of oak, because the first experiments made in southern England with the planting of Scots pine (at Ocknell Clump, in the New Forest, in or about 1776) had given much promise of good and rapid growth. Great impetus was given to private planting, which continued on an extensive scale down to about 1830; and enormous profit was expected from the plantations made.

'Many of these trees, and more especially the larch, are known to destroy the heath and to afford a shelter highly favourable to the growth of nutritious grasses. Thus, even without including the timber in the estimate, the land on many great estates has already been, to all intents and purposes, doubled in value.'\*

The legislative outcome of the advice tendered was the passing, in 1808, of another Act for the increase and preservation of timber in the Dean and New Forests, and the issue of numerous commissions for extensive planting of oak and conifers. The planting of larch and pine was strongly recommended, because then, as now, far the larger proportion of the timber imported into Britain during the eighteenth century consisted of coniferous

---

\* Quarterly Review (1828), vol. xxxviii, p. 441.



wood, the imports of which had increased about tenfold between 1720 and 1790.

Just at this crisis in our national affairs as regards timber, while Britain was engaged in the great continental war at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the discovery of the valuable properties of the teak timber of India saved the country from its chief anxiety with regard to wood for shipbuilding; and, when the successful issue of the struggle gave her the entire command of the sea, Britain was able to supply all her other wants with regard to pine and fir timber from her North American colonies and from foreign countries. But the planting of oak on the better woodland soils, and of larch, pine, and fir on the poorer soils and in the more exposed situations, still went on extensively until towards the middle of last century; by which time the introduction of steam communication by land and water, and the use of iron in shipbuilding, had revolutionised the whole position of affairs, and had enabled large supplies of foreign timber to be laid down at a low price on the British market. The replantation of the royal woods and forests no longer seemed a matter of such vital importance; and some of them were turned into great national parks for recreation. Economic changes gradually took place, greatly affecting the profits obtainable from the private woodlands, which had once been very profitable portions of estates; and, as the value of timber, bark, and coppicewood fell with the development of free trade in foreign produce, the existing woodlands gradually came to be regarded, and to be treated, as mainly subserving the purposes of game preservation and of ornament to the estate.

At the present time the vast majority of the 2,726,116 acres, or 4259 square miles, of woods and plantations in Great Britain (not including Ireland) consists of old copse-woods, in which most of the standard trees are oaks dating from the time when the maritime power of England was dependent on supplies grown within our own sea-girt island. These standards are mostly of that wide-branching growth which was formerly encouraged for the express purpose of providing navy timber. Somewhat similar treatment was also applied to the plantations formed of pine, larch, and fir; hence most of these, of ages ranging

up to about ninety or one hundred years, exhibit the defects due to the typical British method of arboriculture followed from time immemorial. In many cases, especially when the crops are already fairly advanced into or beyond middle age, nothing can now be done for the improvement of the woods; one must await the moment when it is deemed expedient to fell and realise the present crop on the ground, and then replant on business principles. In other cases underplanting may often improve them, if it be considered a profitable operation in existing circumstances; while in young plantations the errors of the past may often still be corrected by cautious thinnings.

In consequence of the fall in the value of timber and of coppicewood, resulting from the abolition of the timber import duty and the development of free trade, and of the growing scarcity and cost of suitable labour in rural districts, much of the method that formerly existed in dealing with copses has fallen into disuse. Thus forestry in England has in many parts become almost a lost art, because it is clear from Evelyn's '*Sylva*,' and from the details about woodlands and their management given in the histories of agriculture compiled (about 1800-1815) for many counties, on behalf of the Board of Agriculture, by Young, Stevenson, Driver, and others, that from about 1650 to 1815 there was far more of method and regularity in the selection of standards and the working of the coppice than has been usual during the last fifty years. The result of this has been that most of the English copses are irregularly stocked with standards; and one cannot help being struck by the evident fact that often only inferior trees have been left, the best having been cut and disposed of, while the underwoods are patchy and uncared-for. Indeed, in many cases, the coppices have been more or less destroyed by ground game, or have been allowed from sheer neglect to revert to weeds like blackberry and bracken. Nature doubtless displays a wild beauty and a wonderful charm in the woods where the traveller's joy and the bramble intertwine; but such woods have nothing to do with arboriculture for profit.

The wide-spread impression that something ought to be done to improve matters led to the parliamentary committee of 1885-87, whose recommendations have already been summarised above; but as these recom-

mendations, not fully acted on, no longer met the case adequately, the Royal Scottish Arboricultural Society memorialised the President of the Board of Agriculture with regard to the improvement of British forestry. The result was that, in February 1902, the late Mr Hanbury nominated a departmental committee, under the presidency of Mr R. C. Munro-Ferguson, of Raith and Novar, a prominent leader of the arboricultural movement in Scotland, to inquire into and report on the present position and future prospects of forestry, and the planting and management of woodlands in Great Britain; and to consider whether any measures might with advantage be taken, by the provision of further educational facilities or otherwise, for their promotion and encouragement. A strong, though by no means an ideal committee was appointed. Out of nine members, three were government officials, and other two were retired Indian officials now engaged in teaching forestry, so that the majority of the committee were of the purely official and professorial class; and the report shows only too clearly, both in its narrowness and in its official reticence and over-cautious prudence, the defects arising from this composition, and from the want of a proper representation of large landed proprietors, and of men with commercial training, who could approach the business aspect of the subject without any preconceived notions or bias. The result of this is that the recommendations of the committee are mainly academical and educational; that no decided opinion is expressed as to the expediency or non-expediency of extensive planting operations being undertaken by the state; and that no encouragement whatever is suggested as worthy of being offered by government to induce landowners to plant timber for the immediate improvement of rural conditions and the prospective benefit of future generations.

Taking them in order of their relative importance and logical sequence, the questions that obviously had to be considered by the committee were: (1) Is the national outlook for timber improving or getting worse? (2) Does the formation of extensive plantations seem desirable? And if so, where and by whom should they be formed? If not undertaken by the state, but left to private enterprise, what drawbacks exist which deter large landowners

from planting extensively? and what encouragement might be given by the state to landowners to obviate these drawbacks and induce them to plant for profit?

(3) What is the present condition of forestry in Britain?

(4) How can the general state of affairs be improved by better and more general technical instruction in the art of forestry? The answers now officially given to these leading questions contain nothing whatever that is new to those who have given close attention to the subject during the last fifteen years; but they are of course presented to the President of the Board of Agriculture in such a manner as will enable him, in consultation with the Treasury, to do whatever he thinks fit for the improvement of forestry in Great Britain. The reference, unfortunately, did not extend to Ireland, though the Irish Department of Agriculture was directly represented on the committee; but the recommendations will prove just as easy of practical application in Dublin as in Whitehall.

Regarding the gloomy aspect of the national outlook for timber, nothing whatever is said in the report. This fact, though of the first importance, has apparently been taken for granted, though brief details might well have been given for the information of Parliament and of the public. The average imports of hewn and split timber for the three years 1890-1892 amounted to 7,083,388 loads, valued at 15,357,119*l.*; in 1900 they had increased to 9,899,142 loads, valued at 25,870,934*l.* Despite the use of various substitutes for constructive purposes, the president of the Institute of Civil Engineers felt obliged, in his presidential address last autumn, to sound the note of alarm regarding the future outlook for this indispensable commodity. The well-known facts of the matter are that the outlook is growing darker and darker; and that, unless we can make advantageous commercial arrangements with Canada, the cost of timber in the very near future will increase even more rapidly than has recently been the case.

When it is considered that almost exactly nine tenths in value, and over nine tenths in quantity, of our present imports of wood consist of pine and fir timber capable of being grown at home, and that nearly three fourths of this coniferous wood in quantity, and more than four fifths in value, are imported as sawn or split, etc., it will be seen that, if we could grow our own supplies of wood,

large sums, now spent abroad, would be distributed among the industrial classes at home, in addition to the large labour bills that would be payable in the woodlands themselves. Hence it is obvious that, in the economic interests of Britain, the formation of plantations of pine and fir is desirable, on the most extensive scale that seems feasible and profitable; because there is no hope now that we can find a way out of our difficulties, as on previous occasions, by discovering substitutes or by tapping fresh storehouses of cheap and easily transportable timber. On the contrary, the history of the wood-pulp industry makes it far more probable that the world's demands for timber will go on increasing, while the sources of supply will be constantly diminishing.

This being so, several questions at once suggest themselves. Where and by whom should such plantations be formed? Should they be made by the state, or left to private enterprise? And what are the existing circumstances which lead large landowners to neglect such opportunities of profitable investment for the benefit of their successors? Some of these are very old questions, which have been discussed time after time. The committee restates the well-known fact that there are about 21,000,000 acres of poor land and waste (about two thirds being in Great Britain, and over one third in Ireland), much of which is capable of being planted with profit; but they make no definite suggestions as to this being done. We have seen that, over ninety years ago, Lord Melville had stated, and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests (Report of June 14, 1812) had also drawn attention to the fact, that there were 20,000,000 acres of waste land in the kingdom; and it had then been suggested that, if 100,000 acres were selected and planted, this would furnish the whole of the oak required for the navy. About that time some of the waste lands in the New Forest were examined and reported to be unsuitable for profitable planting, even with conifers; so that the recommendation now made, that the Department of Land Statistics should ascertain and tabulate the areas presumably suitable for profitable planting, is a proper and business-like suggestion. Without such information the committee, with wise and cautious reserve, have not felt justified in urging government to embark upon any general

scheme of extensive planting, though the desirability of doing this on all suitable waste lands within the Crown forests and manors is mentioned as worth the attention of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. Recent experience in Ireland makes this caution all the more commendable.

So incomplete, however, has been the book-keeping on most estates, and so reticent are landowners on such matters, that much of what is often said about the prospective profit of planting is pure conjecture. Calculations of this sort, though fascinating, are apt to be misleading. About a hundred years ago the Bishop of Llandaff, in a paper sent to the President of the Board of Agriculture, estimated that 379 acres of larch planted by him would (at 5 per cent. interest on the planting and the rent of the land) cost him 13,798*l.* at sixty years of age, whilst the returns 'would, he considered, upon the most moderate computation, amount to 150,000*l.*, if the commerce of the country and the price of foreign fir wood continued for sixty years without diminution.\*' It would be interesting if we were now able to compare the actual returns with this hopeful estimate. In default of a sufficiency of satisfactory and substantiating data, mere estimates regarding the profits of plantations made in the past have often to be accepted as fairly trustworthy guides with respect to the future; but there is little or no doubt that on many classes of poor land, unfit for agricultural use, well-considered coniferous plantations can be made to yield a profit.

The expense of making such plantations is, however, far greater now than it used to be. From 30*s.* or 2*l.* an acre it has grown to from 6*l.* to 8*l.* in most cases; and it is often more. The cost of plants and labour is twice as great as formerly; and in addition to that, the damage by rabbits is now so great and so universal throughout Great Britain that it is in most places quite hopeless to plant without incurring unremunerative expenditure in expensive wire-netting, usually costing from 50*s.* to 3*l.* per acre planted. This heavy impost for protection against rabbits absorbs much of whatever profit might otherwise be obtainable from woodland crops.

---

\* Quarterly Review (1813), vol. x, p. 17.



While the committee do not feel justified in urging the state to plant extensively at present, they frankly recognise that private efforts are not likely to cope with this national concern. Something, however, might well be done with government aid. The necessity for state assistance to landowners has ever been present. Ninety years ago the case was in this respect almost exactly as it is to-day. Even at that time, when everything in the shape of timber, bark, or small wood from the copses was saleable at good rates, want of funds hindered the planting of waste lands on any large scale.

'Such lands, it must be owned, are sufficiently abundant, but the great expense and slow returns of planting are inconvenient to the majority of land proprietors. . . . The expense of planting is immediate and certain, the profit distant and precarious.' (Quart. Rev. (1813), vol. x, p. 9.)

And this is just what the committee now reiterate. The greatest obstacle in the way of such private enterprise is now—as it always has been, and as it always will be—want of funds that can be spared for the purpose. All other obstacles are trifling in comparison. Yet the only suggestions made by the committee to stimulate private planting have been, with unintentional but ominous cynicism, classed as 'minor considerations.' These consist in not very encouraging recommendations that government might give some relief in the matter of incidence of rates on plantations, and of assessments on the valuation of woodlands; that irregularities in the system of levying the estate duty on woodlands, and the death duty on timber, require immediate revision, because this pressure not only acts as a bar to planting in districts most needing it, but also prevents good forestry by leading to the realisation of immature timber crops; that owners of plantations should have some adequate security against fires ignited by sparks from railway engines, which often cause much damage in pine tracts; that timber merchants and others should be freed from unreasonable charges made by local authorities on the allegation that the heavy weight of timber causes extraordinary damage to the roadways; and that owners of plantations, who keep down ground-game, should have the right to recover compensation for damage caused by

hares and rabbits from adjoining property. But as to direct assistance to landowners the committee decline to make any recommendation, even in so small a matter as extending the provisions of the Lands Improvement Act. Under this Act sums borrowed may be repaid by a rent-charge extending to a period not exceeding forty years, subject to the discretion of the Board of Agriculture; but as it takes from sixty to ninety years even for quick-growing conifer crops to mature, the feasibility of extending this period to sixty years might well have been suggested. The want of specific recommendations regarding the encouragement of planting by private owners is certainly a very weak and unsatisfactory feature of the report.

'It has been suggested that the State should advance loans to encourage afforestation; . . . we advise that the State should concentrate any efforts it may make upon the provision of adequate facilities for instruction. Once adequate provision for training is made, and the consequent improvement of our present woodlands becomes manifest, it will then be opportune to raise the subject either of loans or of State forests, in favour of which there is such a large consensus of expert opinion.'

The committee endorses the conclusions of its predecessors concerning the neglected state of the woodlands, and the need of education as a means of improvement; but it is to be regretted that no remark is made on the improvements effected in the management of the Forest of Dean and some of the other royal woods since their administration was severely commented on in the report of July 1890. The main advice now given, however, is that government should provide more opportunities and greater facilities for technical instruction in the art of forestry as the best means of remedying existing deficiencies; and in this respect the recommendations now made follow very closely those that have been advocated in several well-known works on forestry published within the last ten years. It is now officially recognised that something more than has yet been attempted should be done for each of two different classes of persons requiring instruction in forestry, namely, for the future owners and agents of landed estates, and for foresters and woodmen.

To give opportunities to the first of these two classes for acquiring a fair technical knowledge of forestry, it is recommended that instruction should be provided at Oxford and Cambridge, of the same scope and character as that now given by the lecturer on forestry at Edinburgh University—although it is at the same time remarked regarding this course that it 'might, with advantage, be carried considerably further'—and at all the agricultural colleges, or colleges with agricultural departments, subsidised by the Board of Agriculture or the Scottish Education Department. It is further recommended that, at a convenient distance from each of such centres, experimental areas of from 100 to 200 acres, divided into 3-acre plots for experimental purposes, should be arranged to show the effects of mixing and management, and thus assist in demonstrating principles.

To found a chair or lectureship of forestry at Cambridge, in connexion with the Board of Agricultural Studies formed in 1899, should be a very simple matter. At Oxford it may not be quite so easy, though a complete system of agricultural education is obviously just as desirable at Oxford as at the sister university. Whatever can be said to justify the recommendation of instruction in forestry at Oxford, or at any other university, applies also, and with far more force, to adequate instruction in the still more important art of agriculture. It is true that provision has long been nominally made for the teaching of 'agriculture and forestry' under the special provisions of the deed establishing the Sibthorpe Professorship of Rural Economy. But this chair has been vacant for years through want of funds; and the estate forming the endowment is now administered in Chancery. It should, however, not be difficult to supplement the now attenuated endowment, and thus provide chairs both of agriculture and of forestry to meet the undoubted want at Oxford. Certainly, if the government wish to influence the heirs to large estates in matters connected with the cultivation of land, Oxford and Cambridge are the principal centres for work; and it might also be well to try to interest them in these subjects at even a younger age, by arranging for short occasional courses of lectures at Eton and some of the other great public schools, the story

of the trees being told mainly in its lighter and more æsthetic aspect.

To supplement theoretical instruction at university centres and agricultural colleges, the committee declare that 'a large area of woodland for purposes of practical demonstration is an absolute necessity'; and it is recommended that one such area should be provided for England, and another for Scotland, each containing from 2000 to 10,000 acres. For England the Alice Holt Wood, one of the Crown forests in Hampshire, having an area of 1906 acres, is selected as being likely to be brought most speedily into good working order. With regard to this point, the report is again open to the objection that nothing is said of the many improvements introduced into the Forest of Dean, and other woods and forests (except where expressly forbidden by Act of Parliament, as in the case of most of the New Forest), during the last ten years by Mr E. Stafford Howard, C.B., the senior commissioner. The Quarterly Reviewer of 1855 remarked, of the Forest of Dean, that 'foresters entrusted with the management of private estates come hither from all parts of the United Kingdom to take practical lessons in their art'; and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, in having a business-like plan prepared, in 1897, for the Forest of Dean and the adjoining High-meadow Woods, stated their object to be,

'not only to improve the prospective yield of the forest, but also to establish such a system of management as may serve those who desire to study forestry in this country with a good practical object-lesson, such as at the present time they have to go to France or Germany to find.' (Report, 1897, p. 4.)

An indefinite suggestion, unaccompanied by any specific recommendation, to the effect that 'it would not be unreasonable to ask the state to reinvest in land to the extent of, say, 50,000*l.*' in order to provide a demonstration area for Scotland, is not one that will commend itself generally. The acquisition of such an estate is not as yet really an urgent necessity. There are many large estates in Scotland containing plantations from twenty to forty years old, and also maturing or mature woods between forty and eighty or ninety years of age—the outcome of the interest stimulated in arboriculture during the early

part of last century—in which students may be shown the results of British methods as applied hitherto; and most landlords, particularly those who have already taken sufficient interest in their woods to have definite schemes of management prepared for them, will doubtless be generous enough to permit occasional visits to these woodlands being made by teachers and students of forestry in search of object-lessons. Most of these crops now stand too thin; but practically nothing can be done to remedy this defect, except to maintain such leaf canopy as exists and to be careful in future thinnings.

In order to have woods sufficiently well managed to be used as object-lessons, it will be necessary to create them; and the cheapest method of doing so will be to acquire suitable tracts of poor land and plant them up in regular sections on a well considered plan during the course of the next ten, fifteen, or twenty years. This would obviate the startling demand for an immediate payment of about 50,000*l.*; and the total cost of acquiring 2000 acres of land and of planting 200 acres a year during each of the next ten years would only amount, on a liberal estimate, to from 15,000*l.* to 17,000*l.* distributed over ten years and representing, at 3 per cent. interest, a total capital outlay of somewhat less than 20,000*l.* at the end of that term. The saving of 30,000*l.* which can thus be very simply effected on the large proposed expenditure of 50,000*l.* for a Scottish demonstration area, would of itself be amply sufficient to convert the present lectureship at Edinburgh into a professorial chair (over 3000*l.* being already collected towards its endowment), and to found decently endowed lectureships or chairs of forestry both at Oxford and at Cambridge.

It is in such demonstration areas that, as is proposed by the committee, practical and theoretical instruction can best be provided for foresters and woodmen; and recommendations are consequently made for the instruction of 'ten or twenty student foresters' (whose wages would be charged to work), at a cost of about 750*l.* a year for a director and his assistant, at each such centre. If economy be a matter of importance, it might be well to concentrate, for the present, all the theoretical, and the main part of the practical, instruction of this sort required throughout Great Britain within the Forest of Dean and the High-

meadow Woods in Gloucestershire, both the property of the Crown, where the working plans introduced in 1897 extend to over 21,000 acres; while during the autumn or spring these apprentices might easily carry out, or assist in, the planting of the 200 acres a year required for the formation of a future demonstration area in Scotland.

Beyond the inclusion of Irish waste lands—a large proportion of which is said to be suitable for profitable planting—in the total of 21,000,000 acres of poor land, the question of forestry in Ireland has not been dealt with by the commissioners, although the Irish Department of Agriculture was directly represented on the commission. In some respects this omission of any reference to Ireland is to be regretted, because that part of the kingdom might have supplied interesting and highly instructive information concerning the profitable planting of waste lands. It is by no means so easy to handle this subject in a common-sense way as it is to juggle with figures on paper and show a certain profit some generations hence.

The Congested Districts Board of Ireland have had rather a discouraging example of planting for profit. At Knockboy, on the wind-swept sea-coast of Galway, about 500 acres were planted between the autumn of 1891 and the spring of 1894, with about half a million broad-leaved trees and nearly two millions of conifers of different sorts. By 1895 the plantations, which, including drainage, fencing, etc., are said to have cost about 10,000*l.*, were already seen to be an utter failure. Most of the broad-leaved trees were then dead or dying; 'only a few alder here and there are doing well'; and most of the larch, firs, and pines were also either dead or moribund. But 'Austrian pine has done fairly well'; 'Scotch pines . . . in some places . . . have done fairly well, in others they look weedy and lanky,' and, further, the dwarfish 'mountain pines . . . have done best of all; they look very well; it should be noted that they have only been planted lately.' That is to say, all of the more valuable kinds of trees, which were planted with a view to profit, were dead or dying; the hardy Scotch pine was growing poorly; and the only trees that seemed to thrive were the coarse-grained Austrian pine and the stunted mountain pines, which never attain large dimensions as timber trees. The fate of this experiment forms a useful object-lesson.



There were, however, obvious reasons for leaving Ireland out of special consideration. It was a departmental committee of the Board of Agriculture of Great Britain; and the Irish Department of Agriculture has entire management of its own affairs. While the bleak, treeless, and unsheltered condition of most of Ireland is a matter of national importance, the unfortunate dual ownership involved in existing Irish land tenure debars planting on any extensive scale; and, whenever tenants acquire the complete ownership of their holdings they show a marked tendency to fell trees, even though these have a far greater value for sheltering land and cattle than they can possibly have as timber. It is, however, expected that the Land Bill of 1903 will make adequate provision for protecting such woodlands and shelter-belts as still exist on estates that may be transferred after, and under, its enactment.

Thus, although the question of forestry in Ireland was not referred to the committee, the recommendations as to Great Britain can be readily applied to the sister isle; and it is easy enough to forecast what will probably be done there, as the Department of Agriculture has plenty of funds for the purpose. A lectureship or chair of forestry will probably be established at Dublin or Belfast, or at both places; and steps will be taken to assist with advice such landowners as may desire to improve the management of their woodlands; while the necessary inquiries will simultaneously be made with regard to acquiring and planting land for much needed shelter-belts and for the formation of extensive plantations, with a view to profit and to ameliorating the social and economic conditions of the rural population.

But even if, under the combined action of the state and of private landowners, several millions of acres could be at once planted with coniferous trees in the British Isles, we should still be dependent for the next fifty or seventy years, at least, on timber imports from beyond seas. And with respect to supplying the present and the immediate future demands for wood, the conservation of the vast forests of Canada has become a matter of urgent importance. In 1892 the export of timber and other wood products from Canada was valued at 5,075,493*l.*; since 1897 it has averaged close upon 6,000,000*l.*; and in

1901 it amounted to 6,848,220l., over two thirds of this sum being accounted for by deals, planks, boards, and scantlings exported for constructive purposes.

Without proper regard to conservation the expansion of the Canadian export trade in lumber is bound to end in disaster. Reports on the forests of Canada (C. 4376) were presented to both Houses of Parliament in April 1885; and a forestry branch was instituted in the Department of the Interior (for the whole Dominion) in 1898, which submits annual reports on timber and forestry. There is also a director of forestry, subordinate to the Commissioner of Crown Lands in the province of Ontario; but the three great wooded provinces of Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia are in this respect practically independent of the Dominion government. The Canadian Forestry Association, founded in 1900, which meets annually in Ottawa, does all that private and unofficial influence can do to stimulate action in the direction of forest conservation, though without, as yet, having been able to induce government to take active and direct measures for the preservation and proper management of the vast stretches of woodland still existing; because, unfortunately, very large tracts have already been totally destroyed by indiscriminate clearance, by forest fires, and otherwise. Our Colonial Office should urge the government of Canada to follow the example of the government of India in introducing a forest department, and in either passing a Forest Act for the whole Dominion or arranging that a separate Act be passed for each of the various provinces, under which the provincial governments might promulgate rules and regulations for the territories under their jurisdiction. It is only by such legislative and administrative action that these great Canadian forests can be managed with due regard to continuity, and to the fact that forestry is, and should always be, considered as merely the younger sister and the hand-maiden of agriculture. As we have not, and are now never likely to have, woodlands capable of supplying our ever-growing demands for timber, it becomes all the more important that Canada's forest wealth should be properly conserved, both in the interests of the colony and in those of the mother-country.

J. NISBET.

## Art. V.—THE SUBMARINE.

1. *Submarine Warfare, Past, Present, and Future.* By Herbert C. Fyfe. London : Grant Richards, 1902.
2. *La Navigation Sous-marine.* By Maurice Gaget. Paris : Béranger, 1901.
3. *La Navigation Sous-marine à travers les Siècles.* By Maurice Delpeuch. Paris : Juven, 1902.
4. *Navigation Sous-marine.* By A. Dessaint. Toulon : Bernard ; Paris : Béranger, 1892.
5. *Les Bateaux Sous-marins.* By H. Forest and H. Noalhat. Two vols. Paris : Dunod, 1900.
6. *Torpedoes and Torpedo Vessels.* By Lieut. G. E. Armstrong, late R.N. London : Bell, 1901.
7. *Submarine Navigation, Past and Present.* By Alan H. Burgoyne, F.R.G.S. Two vols. London : Grant Richards, 1903.

And other works.

THE submarine boat is suggestive of the weird and the uncanny. The idea of an unseen enemy beneath the seas, moving stealthily in darkness absolute, and armed with death-dealing torpedoes, is calculated to unnerve the stoutest hearts. It is no wonder, then, if something like a scare occurred about two years ago when stories of the French submarines were told in the newspapers, and it was feared lest these should be destined to work havoc among our battleships. It was said that while the French had numerous submarines, we had none ; yet for a time the Admiralty made no sign. Public anxiety was somewhat allayed on learning, in March 1901, that submarines had been engaging the attention of the government for two years past, and that an order for five of the Holland type had already been given. The common-sense view of the policy of ordering these boats was expressed by Mr Arnold-Forster in the House of Commons, on March 18, 1901, when he remarked :

‘I will not say much about submarine vessels, but I will say that I am glad that the Admiralty, under the advice of Lord Goschen, took the view that it was wise not to be found unprepared in regard to this matter. We have a great amount of information about these boats, but we do not attach an

exaggerated value to it. But we believe that an ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory, and that when we get officers and men to see these boats, they will learn more from them than from many reports which come from foreign countries. One thing stands between the submarine boat and efficiency, and that is the motor by which it is propelled. But there is no disguising the fact that if you can add speed to the other qualities of the submarine boat, it might in certain circumstances become a very formidable vessel.'

The Navy estimates for 1902-1903 provided for four more submarines. It is satisfactory to believe that the British submarines embody, on the whole, the best designs which the lessons of a few early successes and many failures have yielded.

Great secrecy has been observed with regard to the details of the construction of submarines built on behalf of either our own or foreign governments. Patent specifications are numerous; but it would be idle to seek in these for all the vital details of existing submarines, in which the joint efforts of the inventor and the naval expert are essential to any measure of success. Highly coloured popular accounts are abundant; but little that is trustworthy is to be found outside the technical journals and a few technical works. Jules Verne's romance, 'Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea,' is a book which occurs to most people when submarines are mentioned. But the Nautilus was lacking in several essentials of a torpedo-carrying craft manœuvring against battleships. It is easy enough to build a craft that can be sunk at will, and brought again to the surface; it is not easy to produce one that is under perfect control when moving under water, and capable of shaping a direct course towards its object after submersion. There are also great difficulties in regard to propulsion at a high speed, and in obtaining sufficient room for machinery and crew. Consequently the best submarines still remain rather unsatisfactory craft; and their most enthusiastic advocates are inclined to dwell hopefully on their future potentialities in naval warfare, rather than plume themselves on triumphs already obtained.

The literature of submarines is not extensive. Numerous articles and papers by experts have been printed in engineering and service journals from time to time, but

only a few books handle adequately the problems of the modern submarine. Works hitherto published deal chiefly either with the history or with the mathematics of the subject. Those who desire to take up the latter side may consult the bibliographies given in the works of M. Gaget and Mr Fyfe. We have no books in English that deal with submarines so completely as do those of French writers. France is the most active and promising nursery of these vessels; but strict secrecy is observed with regard to the construction of recent boats, so that one will seek in vain for detailed information respecting them in books even by French writers.

'Submarine Warfare, Past, Present, and Future,' by Mr Herbert C. Fyfe, is the best-known work yet published on submarines in England. It is mainly historical, somewhat discursive, and poorly arranged; but it possesses interest for the non-technical reader. 'La Navigation Sous-marine,' by Maurice Gaget, is a more solid work. A full history of the submarine occupies the early pages, followed by several chapters on theoretical aspects of submarine navigation, the problems involved being treated largely on a mathematical basis. An account of the modern types of boats follows, and the work concludes with a section on modern submarine warfare. Illustrations are abundant. It is one of the most complete works yet published on the technical side of the subject, though the general reader also will find much of interest, outside of the more purely mathematical portions.

'La Navigation Sous-marine à travers les Siècles,' by Lieut. Maurice Delpeuch, is a most valuable contribution to the history of submarines. The author has ransacked rare and curious works, from the sixteenth century downwards, for early descriptions; and the result is a mass of information, and many very quaint illustrations of the first efforts of this kind. We have no such book in the English language. 'Navigation Sous-marine,' by M. A. Dessaint, gives a summarised account of submarine boats, states the nature of the problems involved, and describes in detail the Plongeur and the Goubet boats, with their experiences, dealing finally with the construction of the gyroscope, and of electric motors and their details. 'Les Bateaux Sous-marins,' by MM. H. Forest and H. Noalhat, is a large work in two volumes, one of which

treats the subject from the historical, the other from the technological point of view. The authors are well qualified for their task, M. Forest being a mechanical engineer in the French navy, and M. Noalhat being a civil engineer and a writer on technical subjects. Their work is abundantly illustrated.

'Torpedoes and Torpedo Vessels,' by Lieut. G. E. Armstrong, one of Messrs Bell's series of 'Royal Navy Handbooks,' is a work that should be studied by any one who desires to understand the armament of the submarine. The ultimate object of such a vessel is to fire torpedoes; but in popular accounts the questions of submersion and movement often obscure the more difficult problem of fighting. It is vastly more difficult to fire torpedoes below water than to sink and come to the surface. Lieut. Armstrong's book is a standard one on the subject of which it treats, and contains a chapter on submarines.

The early attempts of Drebbel, a Dutchman (1572-1634), Richard Norwood, and others, to make submarine boats have now only an antiquarian interest. They were referred to by several writers of the time, including Ben Jonson,\* the Hon. Robert Boyle, and others. One of Drebbel's boats is said to have gone under water from Westminster to Greenwich. It was built of oak staves, hooped with iron bands into a nearly globular form. At the top a circular manhole of metal was hinged; and six pieces of glass in it admitted light. The vessel was kept on an even keel by seven hundred pounds of lead attached to the bottom. In the course of the next hundred years fourteen types of submarines had been patented in England alone. But the real history of the submarine begins with David Bushnell, who was born in the state of

---

\* THOM.— They write here one Cornelius' Son,  
Hath made the Hollanders an invisible eel,  
To swim the haven at Dunkirk and sink all  
The shipping there.

PENNY-BOY, JUNR.—But how is 't done?

CYMBAL.—I'll show you, sir.

It is an Automa, runs under water  
With a snug nose, and has a nimble tail  
Made like an augre, with which tail she wriggles  
Betwixt the costs of a ship and sinks it straight.

P. JUNR.—A most brave device to murder their flat bottoms.

('The Staple of News.')

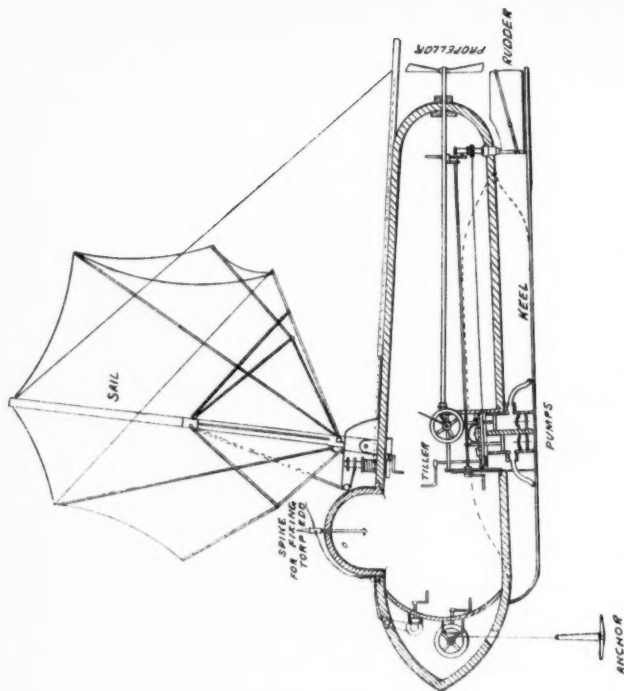


ae  
ll  
al  
g  
s.

n-  
d.  
o  
e.  
s;  
d  
of  
es  
t.  
of

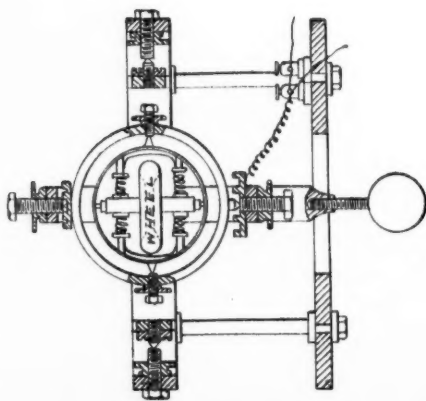
),  
es  
e-  
n  
of  
n  
s,  
t  
x  
t  
d  
s  
n  
e  
f  
-

FIG. 1.



"LE NAUTILUS" OF ROBERT FULTON (1798).  
From "La Navigation Sous-Marine." By MAURICE DELPEUCH (1902).

FIG. 2.



A GYROSCOPE.  
From "Navigation Sous-Marine" (1892).  
By A. DESSAINT.

Maine, and who, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, proposed to destroy the British ships of war which were employed on the coasts of North America by exploding magazines of gunpowder beneath them. His was the first practical boat, and it made an experimental attack in 1776 on the English frigate *Eagle*, and another in 1777 on the English man-of-war *Cerberus*, and other vessels. A long account of this boat appears in 'Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy,' 1801. The admission and ejection of water controlled the submergence and flotation of the vessel. An oar, formed on the principle of the screw, and worked by a cranked handle, was used for propulsion; and the course was directed by a rudder. Only one man could sit in the boat at one time, and a sufficient supply of air was carried to last him thirty minutes. A detachable powder-magazine, containing 150 lb. of powder, was carried by the boat, and secured by a rope, which was cut when the magazine had been attached to the bottom of a vessel. The magazine exploded on the running down of a timing apparatus. John P. Holland says that Bushnell's vessel was

'by far the most perfect and effective submarine boat built before 1881,' and that 'the boat was so nearly complete that the substitution of a motor for manual power, more certainty of direction when submerged, and a few other less important modifications would have rendered it quite formidable even under present conditions, and far superior to most modern designs.'

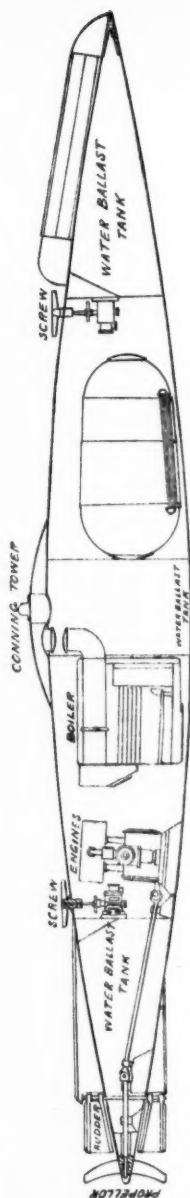
Few of those who know the part which was played by Fulton in the development of the river steamboat in America are aware that he also built submarines. His first boat, the *Nautilus* (fig. 1), was constructed in 1798, and was tried in the Seine, opposite the Invalides, and afterwards in the harbour of Brest. Here he descended to a depth of 23 feet. The *Nautilus* was built of copper, was 21 feet 4 inches long, by 7 feet diameter, and was propelled under water, at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour, by a hand-winch, operated by two men. A hinged mast was fitted for sailing while on the surface. Fulton first offered his invention to Napoleon. In 1801 he attempted to destroy an English ship off Boulogne, but failed. In 1804-5,

having offered his services to the British government, he attacked several French ships, but without effect. His method was to float captive torpedoes towards the object of attack, guiding them by means of lines, and actuating them by clockwork that ran for about fifteen minutes. He demonstrated the utility of his craft by blowing up vessels, but he received no encouragement from the government, and eventually turned his attention to steam navigation.

The idea of submarines was kept alive in France through the period of the first Republic, the Empire, and the Restoration, and numerous boats were designed ; but we cannot attempt to tell the story here in detail. Invention was also active in England, America, and other countries. A boat which caused much stir in its time was the *Plongeur*, built at Rochefort in 1863. She was driven by a compressed-air engine of 80 h.p., but failed after trial. After the French *Plongeur* came the American *Dauids*. The name was given, during the American Civil War, to the submarines—or rather, semi-submarines running with their decks awash—which the Confederates employed against the northern vessels. They were so named in allusion to the difference in size between David and Goliath. The first *David* was built at Charleston, and measured 54 feet in length, by 6 feet in diameter at the largest part. She was cigar-shaped, and was propelled by a screw driven by steam-power. She attacked the *New Ironsides* on October 5, 1863, but without result. Another *David* was, however, successful in destroying the *Housatonic*, a vessel of 1264 tons, in Charleston harbour, on the night of February 17, 1864. But she was a most unfortunate craft, having previously sunk four times and drowned almost all her crew on each occasion. Greater courage can hardly be imagined than that which led crew after crew to venture their lives in this death-trap. Her last feat was the blowing up of the *Housatonic*, which was her death-knell, for she sank again with her crew, on this occasion for the last time. Her final mishap was not due to any defect in the vessel, but to the mistake of leaving the hatchway open when discharging the spar torpedo. The wave thrown up by the explosion swamped the vessel. Since the American Civil War submarines have not been used in actual warfare,

e  
s  
t  
g  
i.  
p  
e  
n  
  
e  
l  
t  
-  
r  
e  
s  
l  
e  
o  
t  
e

FIG. 3.



THE "NORDENFELT" SUBMARINE (1886).  
 FROM "LA NAVIGATION SOUS-MARINE." BY MAURICE DELPEUCH (1902).



even during the Spanish-American War, when the Holland submarines were available.

The Nordenfelt boats (fig. 3) aroused great interest in their time, owing largely to the reputation of the inventor gained in other lines. Several of his vessels were built, some were purchased; but they failed, chiefly because they wholly lacked stability, partly because they had steam-engines and boilers on board. We are thus brought to the era of the modern submarines, the chief examples of which are the Holland, adopted by the United States and Great Britain, and the various types of French boats. The old submarine would have been of little use after the change from sailing-ships to steamships, and the introduction of quick-firing and long-range guns, armour, torpedo-boats, and fish torpedoes. It is this last invention which has given a fresh impulse to submarines, which, without it, would probably have remained pretty much as Fulton and the other early inventors left them. All the earlier boats, down to and including the period of the American Civil War, employed either charges of gun-powder or spar torpedoes. The era of the modern submarine dates from the success of the Whitehead torpedo.

We shall understand better the more or less successful types of modern boats if we lay down correctly the nature of the qualifications which the successful submarine must possess. A submarine must fulfil the following conditions. She must be capable of submergence to variable depths, and also of flotation at will. She must be steady on her keel, both when sinking and rising, when moving at her highest speed under water, and when discharging a torpedo. It is practically essential that objects on the surface of the sea, and within a considerable radius, shall be visible from the boat when submerged to a depth sufficient to render her almost invisible from above. Having taken a sight, she must be capable of moving in a straight course without divergence therefrom, in either a vertical or a lateral direction. Finally, a fairly high speed must be attained; but the machinery for propulsion must be in a small space.

Of the above-mentioned conditions, the capacity for submergence and flotation at will is the first and simplest of attainment. The 'displacement' of a vessel signifies the weight of water which she displaces when floating

freely, and at rest. The volume of water so displaced is equal in weight to the weight of the vessel. It is clear that a vessel which is only partly submerged will not displace so much water as one of the same size when wholly submerged; consequently, for purposes of submersion, either the weight of the vessel must be increased, or some independent force must be used. Submersion and flotation at will were apparently the principal objects aimed at by the early inventors; and we accordingly read of the long periods which were passed under water, to the astonishment of those above. In one case it is recorded that a party spent fifteen hours under water in the Fulton boat without suffering any inconvenience; and a modern submarine will remain under water for several hours. But this is the characteristic which possesses least value, excepting in the popular imagination. All manœuvring and taking of sights must be done at the surface; and a descent is only made for the purpose of an attack, or for travelling for a few miles unobserved by the enemy above. In the necessity for coming to the surface before making an attack lies one of the weak points of all submarines.

It is necessary to provide for immersion to various depths, from just 'awash,' that is, with only the conning-tower above water, to a depth of forty, fifty, or a hundred feet, and for rising again to the surface. This was accomplished in the earlier vessels by means of pistons, enclosed in cylinders at the sides, which, on being drawn in from the inside of the boat, admitted water into the cylinders, and when pushed out ejected it. It is now managed by admitting water into tanks. A submarine cannot, however, go beyond a certain depth, otherwise the pressure of the water would crush the boat. The researches of the Challenger expedition showed that this pressure increases rapidly, from 14·7 lb. to the square inch—the pressure of the atmosphere—to some 28 lb. at a depth of 32 feet, and so on in proportion. At the depth of a mile the pressure is about a ton to the square inch. It is obvious, therefore, that a lightly-built boat will not stand the pressure far below the surface. This apparently happened to an early submarine, which went down with its designer on board, and was never seen again. This fatality is now prevented by means of a hydrostatic

valve, which opens when the pressure of water exceeds a certain limit, and, by allowing water to escape from the tanks, raises the vessel again into a higher stratum.

For the simple purpose of submersion or flotation, the admission or expulsion of water suffices, whether the vessel is stationary or in motion; and, when she is stationary, this is the only method that can be employed. But just as a diver, when moving under water, alters his level by altering the inclination of his body, or as a fish uses its fins for the same purpose, so a submarine, when in motion below the surface, can use mechanical means to sink lower or to approach nearer the surface without the aid of the water-tanks. The means employed for this purpose are various. Some of the earlier boats, the Nordenfelt included, were submerged by means of screws on vertical shafts, and these have been variously arranged with the object of sinking the boats on an even keel. But in nearly all modern submarines they have been abandoned in favour of horizontal rudders or fins attached to the sides of the ship. In the Holland boats these are in pairs, fitted aft; in the French Narval class there are four, two aft and two forward; in the Gustave Zédé there are six, two aft, two forward, and two at the centre. By altering the inclination of these fins a vessel in motion is driven upwards or downwards. This method—which of course cannot be applied unless the vessel is in motion—has the great advantage over that of admitting or expelling water that it is instantaneous in its action, and enables the commander to regulate the depth from moment to moment with great ease.

The second condition, namely, steadiness of keel when sinking and rising, and when moving at high speed, and in discharging a torpedo, is far more difficult of attainment than those already discussed. It is here that nearly all submarines have failed, because of the instability of the centre of gravity when submerged. The Nordenfelt boats, which created so great a stir in the eighties, were notably unstable. The idea of the inventor was that they should descend on an even keel. This was found impossible, for the movements of the men within the cranky vessel caused it when submerged to tumble about at all angles in the water; and when a torpedo was

fired, the reaction sent the boat up on end, stern downwards. The recent submarines do not go down on an even keel, but at an angle; and certain dispositions of rudders provide the means by which they are brought to, and kept on, an even keel after descending to their required depth. A weighted keel is also an essential to keep the boat upright in the water.

When completely submerged, submarine craft are exceedingly unstable in the longitudinal direction. Many causes contribute to this. The principal disturbing agent is the firing of torpedoes, which has a tendency to bring the bows of the boat up towards the surface, and to throw the stern downwards, movements which are accentuated by the forward motion of the boat. This was for some time an almost insuperable difficulty, but it is now overcome by allowing water to enter the tube immediately the torpedo is fired. The water must be expelled before the next torpedo can be placed in the tube. One of the good points in the Holland boats is that they are fairly stable, not only when running submerged, but on firing a torpedo.

The problems of vision and of movement without divergence offer great difficulties, and are far from being settled in a satisfactory manner as yet. A periscope is used in French submarines to throw an image of objects on the sea down to the observer below, on an object-glass no bigger than a crown piece. But this is clearly of little use for taking bearings, while in all but the smoothest sea it would be quite useless, because of the obscurity caused by foam; nor is it available at night. The only way then is to come to the surface and take the bearings of an object, and, after descending, to steer by the compass. Even then a deviation of a degree or two will suffice to bring the submarine wide of her mark. Either she must come to the surface again and take a fresh bearing, or grope about in pitchy darkness on the chance of finding the object of her quest. Herein lies one of the weak points of the modern submarine. If she comes to the surface she is a mark for destroyers and battleships; if she remains below she is in a state of absolute blindness as to her whereabouts. The optical devices which have been used to enable observations to be made under water have so far lacked precision. It is still necessary to take

observations from the conning-tower, and to set bearings by the compass. But the last word has not been said. A new instrument, the invention of Sir Howard Grubb, F.R.S., is to be used on the British submarines. In a recent report on the trials of the U.S.S. Adder, in Peconic Bay, the Board remarks :

‘The use of the periscope permitted the vessel to remain under water for over two hours, without rising to the surface, and clearly demonstrated that a properly designed instrument of this character is essential to developing the fullest possibilities of these vessels.’

It should, however, be remarked that the devices available for making directly towards an object with little divergence therefrom are now far more precise than they were a few years ago. The gyroscope, and the rudders which are automatically worked by that piece of mechanism in the Whitehead torpedo, are equally adaptable to, and are employed in, the submarines.

The builders of submarines have learned much from the Whitehead torpedo. This now travels under water at a speed of thirty knots, and with a practically unerring aim strikes and destroys an object at six hundred yards range. The marvel is not so much the speed as the accuracy of the steering. This is one of the later developments of the torpedo, and is due to two devices, which operate in an automatic manner. These include two pairs of rudders, one horizontal, the other vertical. The former maintain the torpedo at a uniform depth, which is predetermined. A hydrostatic spring valve is set to remain closed until a certain pressure of water is reached, but to open when that pressure, which corresponds with a certain depth in the sea, is exceeded. By means of this, with an air-cylinder, or servo-motor, and a pendulum, the motion of the rudders is controlled automatically for up or down movements. The servo-motor is an engine which supplies the power to move the horizontal or diving rudders, increasing the power given out by the mechanism of the balance chamber. It is so strong that with only half an ounce pressure on the slide valve the piston is capable of lifting 180 lb.

The vertical rudders control the lateral movements of the torpedo, and are as essential as those that are hori-

zontal, since an infinitesimal divergence is sufficient to cause the missile to go wide of its mark. These are controlled by a gyroscope (fig. 2), which is a flywheel with a heavy rim, suspended on gimbals.\* The gyroscope revolves vertically at a great rate, and by so doing resists any force tending to alter the plane of its axis, precisely as the rotation of a cycle wheel prevents it from overturning. Its motion is imparted by a spring, which, when released by the firing of the torpedo, causes the gyroscope to rotate at about 2200 revolutions a minute. At this speed it remains rotating in the same plane, and works the servo-motor, which actuates a pair of vertical rudders. In case of deviation of the torpedo from its course, the rudders bring it back again. In the submarine, the axis of the wheel is at right angles with that of the keel, and one end of the axle is prolonged to form a pointer working over a graduated card. The gyroscope will not swing with the boat, but the deviations of the latter will be indicated by the pointer on the card.

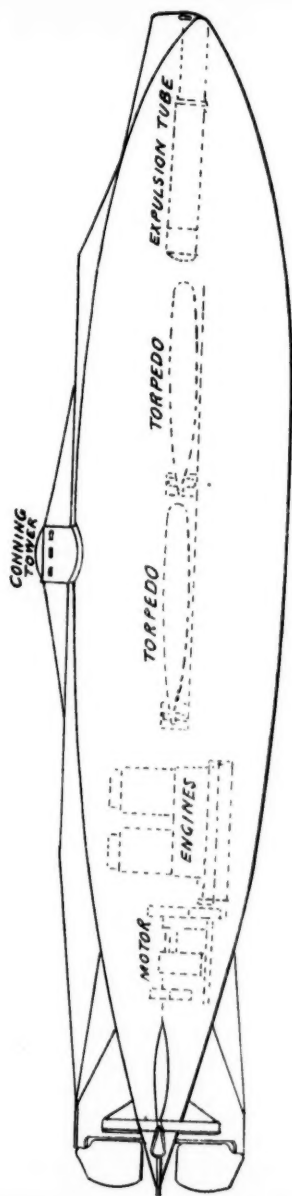
The earlier submarines were driven by manual labour, the later by steam-engines; but both forms of energy have obvious disadvantages. Modern boats are much better operated by gasolene or petrol engines, and by electric motors, driven by accumulators, neither of which methods was open to the earlier designers. The same remark holds good of many other details, such as the use of steel plates of great strength and lightness, of vessels carrying stores of compressed air, of the electric light, which does not consume oxygen, of automatic methods of steering, and so on, all of which are of recent growth, and have proved helpful to the designers of the latest submarines. Yet even in their best and latest forms these vessels are far from being perfect fighting machines, and they would probably suffer severely when in the vicinity of swift and highly mobile torpedo-destroyers. Mobility is not a strong point yet with the submarines, though that will probably be developed by the use of still more

---

\* This is a balancing apparatus, such as is placed under lamps in the cabins of ships, to keep them upright. It is formed of two rings having axes at right angles with each other, by the joint effect of which the gyroscope is maintained in equilibrium. The late Mr Lewis Carroll must have seen, or foreseen, this instrument when he remarked how 'the slithy toves Did *gyre* and *gimble* in the wabe.'



FIG. 4.



THE "HOLLAND" SUBMARINE (BRITISH).  
By courtesy of VICKERS, SONS & MAXIM, Limited (Builders).



powerful engines, and improvements in directing and steering apparatus. The conditions which are imposed on the machinery of submarines are onerous, but not insuperable. At present the gasoline engine and the electric motor practically divide favour. Several vessels use the first for running awash, and the second when submerged.

The reason why two methods of propulsion are employed is that, though the gasoline engine is preferred on the whole to electricity, yet the latter is more desirable in the confined atmosphere of the submarine, when running submerged. The combustion of any fuel, whether coal, petrol, or gas, uses up the vital air and gives off poisonous gases; moreover, the weight and displacement of the vessel are being continually altered by the combustion of fuel which goes on. These are the reasons why the gasoline engine is used when at the surface of the water, and electricity, derived from accumulators, below. All other methods, steam, compressed air, carbonic acid, and liquid air, have been found unsuitable. In the Holland boats the gasoline engine is employed above water, and electricity below. A steam-engine, the boiler of which is fed with liquid fuel, is used on the French boats of the Narval class, above water; while in the Gustave Zédé, Morse, and other boats, electricity is used above as well as below. The chief objection to petrol is the fumes arising from the products of combustion; that to electricity is the risk of failure, or exhaustion of the accumulators. But the objections to steam, compressed air, and the other agencies named as motive powers, are much more serious; and we must therefore regard the gasoline engine and the electric motor as being without rivals, at least in the present state of mechanical knowledge, in their application to submarine navigation. Let us see how the foregoing conditions are fulfilled in the latest submarines.

The Holland boat (fig. 4), as now made, possesses the great recommendation of having got well beyond the crude elementary stage. The first of these was built in 1877 as the result of experiments that went back into the sixties. It was only 16 feet in length, with a 20-inch beam, and gave sufficient room for but one occupant, who sat in a cramped position, and propelled the craft with a pedal.

Other boats followed, all of which were in various ways unsatisfactory. At length, in the ninth Holland boat, which was bought by the United States government in 1900, the present design was practically embodied. This particular craft measured 53 feet 10 inches in length, by 10 feet 3 inches in diameter, with a displacement of 75 tons. She was propelled on the surface by a 50 h.p. gasolene engine, giving a speed of about 7 knots, and under water by an electric motor, worked from accumulators, and giving a speed of 8 knots. She had a reserve of buoyancy, and dived diagonally. In 1900 the U.S. government ordered six of these boats. The first experimental Holland boat, built in 1877, was the first submarine since Bushnell's time that employed water-ballast, and retained buoyancy at all times. She was the first to be steered diagonally up and down by horizontal rudders.

These boats are of the same class as those built by Messrs Vickers and Maxim for the British government. The British submarines are lighter than the volume of water which they displace, and therefore have a reserve of buoyancy, so that in the event of accident they would rise to the surface. The vessels, driven by a single screw, are capable of running at 8 knots on the surface—a speed of 10 knots has been attained—and 7 knots under water. An Otto gasolene engine of 160 h.p. is used above water, and an electric waterproof motor of 70 h.p. below. The gasolene is stored in a tank having a capacity of 850 gallons, and is sufficient for a run of about 400 miles; the storage-batteries will supply sufficient power for a speed of 7 knots during four hours. When at the surface, the accumulators are recharged by means of the gasolene engines, these being used to drive the electric motor, temporarily converting its action into that of a dynamo, and so generating fresh electricity. The screw propeller can be connected either with the engine or with the motor. Light is supplied by portable incandescent lamps. Provision exists for rapidly filling the torpedo-tube after discharge, and for admitting water into special tanks to compensate for the removal of each torpedo in turn. Five of these missiles are carried; and compressed-air storage, ventilators, bells, speaking-tubes, and scientific instruments are provided.

The Holland boats are 63 feet 4 inches long, with a beam of 11 feet 9 inches. They are circular in cross section, cigar-shaped longitudinally, have a displacement when submerged of 120 tons, and are sufficiently strong to withstand water pressure at 100 feet below the surface, corresponding with a pressure of rather over three atmospheres. They are built of steel, double-bottomed, and have water-tight bulkheads, which divide the boat into three separate compartments. The forward compartment carries the torpedo expulsion tube, the gasoline tank, one of the trimming-tanks, which assist in keeping the boat on an even keel, and a series of air-flasks. In the central compartment the storage-batteries are carried, and above them the two spare torpedoes, which are 11 feet 8 inches in length. Air-flasks, for renewing the atmosphere under water, occupy a portion of the space. The air is compressed to 2000 lb. per square inch, or over 133 atmospheres. Below, in the double bottom, are ballasting-tanks and a compensating-tank which, with the trimming-tanks and the horizontal rudders, maintain the longitudinal stability of the cranky craft. The rear compartment contains the gasoline engine—a beautiful piece of mechanism, which is perfectly balanced, though running at from 320 to 390 revolutions a minute. Over all there is a deck 31 feet in length, used when running on the surface, and an armoured conning-tower 32 inches in diameter, provided with observation-ports, the steel armour being of a minimum thickness of 4 inches. These boats represent the most advanced designs at the present time, and are safe, seaworthy, and capable. Experiments are still, however, being made, and minor improvements effected, by the Holland Company, with a view to getting smaller engines of less weight but greater power, and to carrying larger supplies of compressed air so as to permit of remaining under water for longer periods.

Lieut. H. H. Caldwell, of the United States navy, who was in command of a Holland boat for nearly two years, and had made approximately 400 dives in that vessel, when giving evidence before committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate, said that

‘he had fired a great many torpedoes, and did not hesitate to say that more accurate firing was made from the Holland

than from surface-boats. . . . I can go' (he continued) 'to any depth and maintain it within a few inches.'

Ensign Nelson, of the same navy, stated that in his experience

'the boat did not vary more than six inches in her depth. There is no difficulty with regard to her trim when submerged, due to men walking about; nor was there any trouble in adjusting her compass.' ('Engineering' (Sept. 5, 1902), p. 314.)

The Argonauts, the invention of Mr Lake, though not primarily designed as torpedo-firing craft, may yet prove of great value in another capacity, that of searching for submarine mines, torpedoes, and sunken treasure. The first Argonaut came into prominence during the Spanish-American war, when she cruised about in the waters of the Chesapeake. She is said to have travelled more than 2000 miles under the sea, along the Atlantic seaboard, and to have more than paid her cost by recovering wreckage. The latest vessel of this type, the Protector, was launched in November 1902, and is 65 feet long, with 11 feet beam. She is driven by gasoline engines above, and by storage-batteries below, charged by the engines. She travels along the ocean-bed on wheels fitted with springs. A diving compartment permits of egress from and ingress to the boat when on the bottom, reminding one of the 'intelligent whale' of Halstead in 1872, and of Captain Nemo's Nautilus in Jules Verne's romance. The Protector carries sufficient air, at a pressure of 200 lb. to the square inch, to last her crew of six men during sixty hours of total submergence. She has three 18-inch Whitehead torpedo-tubes, and has been built with the object of entering into competition with the Holland boats, being nearly of the same dimensions. An important difference is, that the Lake boats go down on an even keel by means of hydro-planes, a species of rudder situated nearly amidships, while the Holland vessels go down at an angle, the rudders being aft. Provision is made in the Protector for the escape of the crew in diving-helmets in case of accident, or for the purpose of destroying mines, cutting cables, etc. She is also strong enough to withstand the pressure at 150 feet below the surface, against 100 feet in the Hollands, and has twin



to

is

h.

o-

le

),

ot

re

or

ee

n-

of

n

d,

g

r,

h

e,

s.

h

n

g

f

e

o.

g

h

e

d

r-

n

r

o

s

n

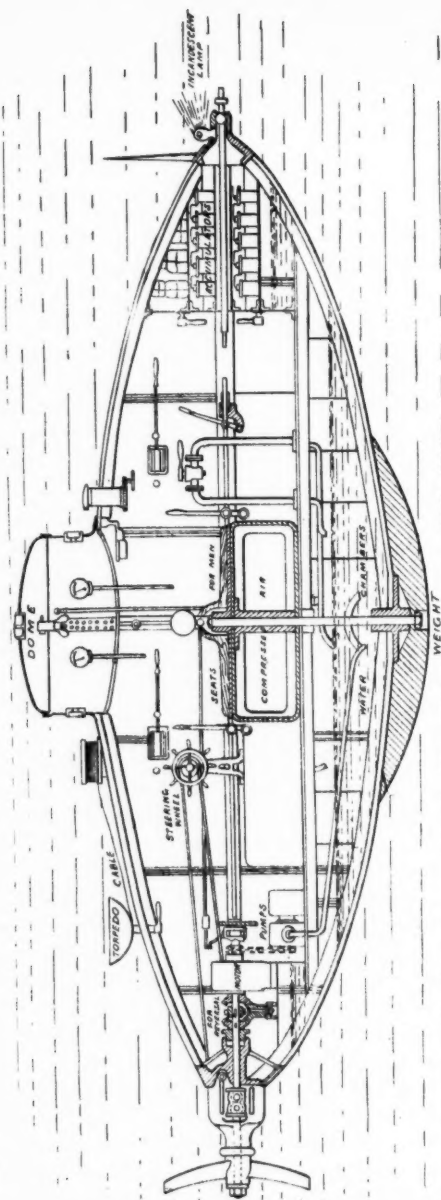
f

g

e

n

FIG. 5.



THE "GOUBET" SUBMARINE.  
From "Navigation Sous-Marine" (1892). By A. DESSAINT.

screws instead of a single one only. The gasoline is not stored in the hull, but in a superstructure above the hull, for greater safety. Her performances will be watched with much interest.

The submarine is very popular in France, as promising to be an antidote to British battleships. Under the fostering care of Admiral Aube and the French Admiralty have been evolved the Goubet boats (fig. 5), the Gymnote, the Gustave Zédé, the Morse, and the Narval types. These are fully illustrated in the works mentioned above. But some of them have become, or are fast becoming, obsolete, while the internal arrangements of the French submarines now in course of construction are kept secret.

The Gymnote, tested in Toulon harbour in September 1888, was the first French submarine ordered by the Admiralty. She is cigar-shaped, 59 feet long, and 6 feet in diameter. She has been an experimental boat, various alterations having been made in her from time to time, and is now used for purposes of instruction only. But she was the precursor of the famous Gustave Zédé. M. Zédé was the inventor of the Gymnote. During the building of his second boat he died, and the Minister of Marine paid him a tribute of respect by naming the boat Gustave Zédé. She was launched at Toulon on June 1, 1893. She measures 159 feet in length, with a beam of 12 feet 4 inches, and a displacement of 266 tons. The motive power is electricity. She carries three Whitehead torpedoes. A few necessary alterations have been made to render her stable in the longitudinal direction; but she is a seaworthy vessel. Another French submarine is the Morse, intermediate in size between the Gymnote and the Gustave Zédé. She is 118 feet long, of 9 feet beam, and 146 tons displacement. She was launched on July 5, 1899. Her motive power is electricity, and her armament three Whitehead torpedoes. The torpedoes can only be launched in the direction in which her course is being taken. The accumulators are piled up amidships for a third of the length, leaving a gangway of only two feet in width. On one occasion she remained submerged for eight hours. She has but a limited range of action. Many trials have been made with this vessel; and the results obtained induced the Admiralty to build two other boats of the same class, launched in 1901. Another but smaller type

is built after the model of the *Narval*, launched at Cherbourg on October 26, 1899. It is a type which can be used as an ordinary torpedo-boat, or as a submarine, a type to which the term 'submersible' is applied. She is propelled on the surface by a steam-engine, and when submerged, by electricity, and has a large radius of action. She carries four Whitehead torpedoes, which can be discharged from their four tubes in any direction. The hull is double, and the sea-water circulates between and affords a protection from projectiles. Both these types are fitted with periscopes.

These are the models upon which, with improvements, so many French submarines have been built, or are in course of construction. At the present time France has 35 submarines, and in a few months this number will be doubled. According to the French naval programme, 68 vessels were to be completed between 1900 and 1906, in addition to those previously in existence.\* Germany has no programme for submarines. Spain has one; Russia is said to possess two; so that at the present time France, the United States, and Great Britain are the only nations which possess any fleets of submarines.

The scare caused by the exploits of submarines during recent French naval manœuvres, even if these performances were exaggerated, will be of value if it puts our rulers on the alert. A similar scare that came to naught is chronicled a hundred years ago; but conditions have changed since then. Though no submarine except the *David* has as yet done anything in actual warfare, the performances of the newer boats at naval manœuvres cannot be ignored. It is unwise to belittle the experiments which have been carried on by the French government during more than ten years past. Much valuable knowledge, which we do not possess, must have been acquired in consequence. It has been amply proved that submarines can approach and manœuvre unseen by vessels specially posted to watch for them and even apprised of their intentions. It is certain that no fleet would be safe within the radius of action of the submarine to-day, unless shut up closely in a protected harbour. With a

\* The building of submarines has recently been somewhat checked by M. Pelletan until a modified type of vessel, fitted with the Diesel oil-engine, has been tested; besides which, another type is being designed.

fleet of seventy boats at their command, the French could easily do us immense damage in the narrow seas. A single first-class battleship torpedoed means a loss of a million sterling and 800 trained men. In the Mediterranean France is creating naval bases for her submarines. We ought to have a fleet of these at least equal to that of France.

The following are the most noteworthy of the incidents in naval manœuvres. In 1900 a Holland boat torpedoed the Kearsarge seven miles away from harbour, off Newport, Rhode Island, during the manœuvres of the U.S. North Atlantic squadron. The French submarine, *Gustave Zédé*, torpedoed the *Majenta* twice in December 1898 off Toulon, and afterwards went to Marseilles, a distance of 41 miles, in a rough sea, at 6 knots speed. In both cases she came to the surface to take bearings. In the attack she was seen from the ship 400 yards away. The periods of her appearance on the surface ranged from 1 minute 30 seconds to 30 seconds only. On July 5, 1901, this submarine torpedoed the battleship *Charles Martel* in Ajaccio harbour—a feat over which the French nation went wild with excitement. A similar feat was performed on July 27, 1901, off Toulon, when the submarine torpedoed the *Bouvet*. In December 1901 the *Narval* and the *Morse* defended Cherbourg from an attack by the coast-defence ships *Bouvines* and *Valmy* by torpedoing both. In January 1902, off Cherbourg, the *Bouvines* was hit at 100 yards by a torpedo from the *Morse*; the *Tréhouart* was struck by one from the *Espadon*; and the *Cassini* was torpedoed by the *Français*. In March 1902 the *Algérin* torpedoed the *Valmy*, and the *Français* the *Jemappes*. In the manœuvres of July 1902 the *Gustave Zédé* and *Gymnote* came from Toulon to Salins, navigating the whole way under water, ran the blockade unobserved, and joined the A division. The first-named boat is said to have torpedoed the *Brennus* at a distance of 300 metres; and the second, the *Jauréguiberry* and *Chamer*. In October 1902 the second division of the French Atlantic squadron assembled at Saint Vaast-de-la-Hougue. Each vessel was attended by two destroyers. The large submersibles, *Narval*, *Espadon*, *Sirène*, *Silure*, and *Triton*, left Cherbourg undetected by the destroyers, which were watching the port, and navigated for twelve hours under

water. The boats discharged buoys in place of dummy torpedoes, and returned unobserved to Cherbourg. Captain Heilmann claims that one of the results of these manoeuvres is to show that submersibles, with a considerable range of action, could easily visit an English port and torpedo vessels lying there.

The most formidable opponent to the submarine is the torpedo-boat destroyer. The chances, however, in favour of the destroyer are but slight, except in so far as she would have the advantage of speed; while she would herself be in great danger from the submarine. In June 1901 some experiments were conducted by the Admiralty with a charge of explosives at the end of a long boom swung over a destroyer's side. The idea was that the destroyer, running at full speed past a submarine, would explode the charge in passing, and damage her so badly that she would sink. Some, who are well qualified to form a judgment, have little faith in this use of spar-torpedoes. Sir W. Laird Clowes (as reported in 'The Engineer' for March 28, 1902) told the Institution of Naval Architects that

'our preparations for attacking submarines with spar-torpedoes fitted to torpedo-boats or destroyers are exciting the ridicule of those foreign nations which, from experience, know what submarines are like. . . . The truth seems to be that if the submarine can be reached at all by the spar-torpedo, she could at least, in the vast majority of cases, be reached more expeditiously and certainly by means of the gun.'

It must be remembered, however, that the submarine is very difficult to hit, for, even when running awash, her conning-tower is a very small mark; and when submerged only a few feet she could not be touched by gunshot. Even when running awash she might come very near an enemy without being seen.

Lieut. Armstrong believes in small submarines, and thinks that our Hollands are sufficiently large for all purposes.

'In the first place, a small vessel is handier. Submergence, owing to the small capacity of the ballast-tanks, takes a comparatively shorter time; the diving and rising positions can be assumed quicker, with a consequent shorter plunge; the small increase in speed in the larger vessel is not commen-

surate with the great increase in cost, and the reduction in handiness; and it is best not to have too many eggs in one basket. It is quite probable that before long a type of "second-class" submarine or submersible will be designed for carrying on board battleships and heavy cruisers, and it is easy to imagine the uses to which such craft might be put.'

On the other hand, large boats are better able to keep the sea in bad weather. The French submersibles, as the Narval, Espadon, Sirène, Silure, Triton, etc., are able to cruise in the open seas. The recent Cherbourg manœuvres demonstrated the value of large vessels at sea; and experiments are being conducted in consequence, with the object of increasing the efficiency of boats of the Narval and Sirène class.

As is but natural, opinions on the subject of submarines are much divided. Even naval experts of experience have expressed very different views, both in technical articles and in discussions. An examination of experts before the committees of naval affairs and of the Senate of the United States, in which the merits of the Holland, Lake, and Moriarty boats were discussed, gave occasion to much divergence on the part of experienced naval officers. The report prepared by Admiral O'Neil, chief of the United States Bureau of Ordnance, in January 1901, is distinctly unfavourable to the Holland type. But in spite of some weak points, enough remains to warrant the belief that the submarine has come to stay, and will at no distant date prove a dangerous foe. Until a great naval battle occurs, all opinions respecting these vessels must of necessity be gathered from naval manœuvres and other insufficient tests, and from a consideration of the mechanical principles involved in their design and equipment. From these points of view it is perhaps reassuring to observe that the submarines which have achieved a moderate degree of success are very few indeed; and that the whole history of these vessels until within, say, the last ten years, is one of failure to fulfil the conditions essential to successful warfare under water. Of course the same holds good of all novelties in their early inception; and those who disparage submarines may well be reminded of the early history of railroads and steamships; of the substitution of iron and steel for wood in shipbuilding; of electric lighting, wireless telegraphy, and



many other inventions. The submarines of fifty years hence will probably resemble those now in existence as little as the old Victory resembles the Terrible, or 'Puffing Billy' a modern express engine. The Whitehead torpedo has developed in thirty years from a machine having a speed of 7 knots, a range of 1000 yards, and a charge of 67 lb. of gun-cotton, to one having a speed of 30 knots, a 2000-yard range, and a charge of 200 lb. of gun-cotton. Submarine boats are passing through a similar transitional stage. But a study of their construction and capabilities justifies the belief that they will take their place in a few years as an essential section of the armament of all naval Powers.

Since the foregoing article was in type we have received a new work on 'Submarine Navigation' (in two volumes) by Mr Alan H. Burgoyne, F.R.G.S. The space at our disposal does not permit of that extended notice which the work merits. The regret expressed in the earlier portion of this article, that no books in English deal with submarines so completely as do those of French writers, exists no longer. The author has spared no pains in collecting a vast amount of material relating to submarines from the earliest periods to the present year. A great many of the illustrations appear in no other single work on the subject, while a large number are published for the first time. All the ordinary, and many unusual sources of information have been ransacked in the preparation of this work, including the stores of the Bodleian Library and of the Patent Office. The work is well written and very readable, and is illustrated with nearly three hundred line-engravings and photographs. It is most complete as a history of submarine navigation, and it gives the fullest accounts of those modern boats which are on their trial at the present time, such as the Hollands, the Lake Argonauts, and the French vessels. Mr Burgoyne has succeeded in producing a work which is extremely interesting both to the general reader and to the naval engineer.

---

# Art. VI.—NEW LIGHTS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1. *The French Revolution*. By Thomas Carlyle. Edited by C. R. L. Fletcher. London : Methuen, 1902.
2. *The French Revolution*. By Thomas Carlyle. Edited by John Holland Rose. London : Bell, 1902.
3. *The Life of Danton*. By A. H. Beesly. London : Longmans, 1899.
4. *Danton : a study*. By Hilaire Belloc. London : Nisbet, 1899.
5. *Robespierre : a study*. By Hilaire Belloc. London : Nisbet, 1901.
6. *Mallet du Pan and the French Revolution*. By Bernard Mallet. London : Longmans, 1902.

'ENGLAND has Carlyle,' said Dr Döllinger thirty years ago, after enumerating the many distinguished French and German historians who have contributed to the overwhelming literature of the French Revolution; and as yet there is no other English name to be placed beside that of Carlyle. We were at first disposed to hope, while reading Mr Belloc's study of Danton, that we had found a writer who, after he had sown his literary wild oats, might produce an account in English of the French Revolution, adequate both as history and as literature. Mr Belloc's faults are obvious. His style is affected and pretentious. He is so determined to avoid the commonplace that he rarely expresses a simple thought in simple language. He must be clever in manner if not in matter; and consequently the reader, after being at some trouble to arrive at the meaning of a sentence of oracular profundity, is too often disappointed by a truism. Besides, Mr Belloc's passion for effect inevitably leads to exaggeration of statement as well as to a wearisome incontinence of tropes and metaphors. But defects partly due to exuberance of intellectual spirits, partly to hasty composition and to a desire to catch the public ear by a shrill and startling note, are compensated by merits which show the author to possess many of the qualities which distinguish an historian from a collector of historical materials. He can realise the past and bring it vividly before his readers. We opened his second book, the study of

Robespierre, with some expectation that experience and reflection would have led him, while retaining all his graphic vivacity, to write with more self-restraint and sobriety. This hope has not been realised. The second work is inferior as a biography, less accurate, more full of special pleading, and has all and more than all the tricks and mannerisms of its predecessor. Mr Belloc is certainly capable of better work; and, belonging as he does to both nations, it would be a worthy use of his talents to interpret the French Revolution to the English public.

Mr Beesly's *Life of Danton*, though written by a poet, is more sober in style. It is based on MM. Bougeart and Robinet, and does not make much pretence to impartiality or originality. But it is eminently readable, and puts the case for Danton very forcibly on several points.

Mr Bernard Mallet's very interesting and well written life of Mallet du Pan is a far more important contribution to the English literature of the Revolution. It is a worthy monument, erected by the piety of a descendant, to a most honourable and talented man. We should search the annals of the press in vain to discover a journalist more honest and courageous, or one who exercised a wider influence than Mallet du Pan. His life was well worth telling, and, as told by his great grandson, throws much light on the course of the Revolution, and more especially on the intrigues, the hopes and follies of the exiled princes and their followers after the summer of 1792.

The frequent publication of books such as those we have mentioned proves the interest felt by the English-speaking public in the French Revolution; and it is therefore not surprising that the expiration of the copyright of Carlyle's *History* should be followed by the simultaneous appearance of two excellent editions of a book which, if not the most original, nor, in its own day, the most influential of its author's works, is that which first made him generally known to his contemporaries, and which will prove his best title to immortality.

Mr Fletcher's edition is evidently intended for the use of the serious historical student. His excellent notes, biographical and explanatory, give an astonishing amount of information, and are full of suggestive criticism compressed into the smallest possible space. The appendices are good and careful pieces of work, though

perhaps overlong if we regard them as explanatory, and too short to be exhaustive. To tack such closely packed instruction on to Carlyle's 'flame pictures' may seem almost as incongruous as to harness some

'courser of celestial race,  
His neck with thunder clad and long resounding pace,'

to a van-load of household furniture. But Mr Fletcher's notes do not occupy much space on the page, and his longer disquisitions are placed at the end of the chapters. The reader may, if he pleases, surrender himself, undistracted by the commentator, to the spell of the magician in the text. And this, unless he is already well acquainted with the book, we should advise him to do, in order that he may realise the fire and energy, the rhythmic pulsation of this prose epic, and fully appreciate the continuous procession of living shapes which moves through its pages. But having done so, let him carefully read all that Mr Fletcher has to tell him, and he will know more about the Revolution than can be learnt from many pretentious volumes.

Mr Rose, on the other hand, seeks rather to satisfy the wants of the general public. We draw this inference from the attractive appearance of his book, which is enlivened by illustrations, and also from the self-repression of his notes, which briefly point out the most important omissions and inaccuracies in the text, and give just enough information to explain what might otherwise be obscure to an ignorant reader.

Professor Nichol, in his excellent life of Carlyle, ridicules the 'lumber merchants,' the Dryasdusts of history, who, by applying a minute criticism to the 'French Revolution,' have discovered that Carlyle has given the wrong number to a regiment, or that there are seven trifling errors of detail in the account of the flight to Varennes. Many slips and errors far more serious than these are duly pointed out by Carlyle's latest editors; yet we are disposed to agree with his biographer that such criticism does not detract from the value of one of the most vivid narratives in the range of European literature. It may be true that the reader can derive from it only an imperfect and in some respects erroneous conception of the Revolution; but this is owing to the

essential qualities of the work and of the author's genius, and not to any inaccuracy of detail. It is owing to his impatience of compromise and dislike of the balancing judgment, to his 'imperfect sympathy with masses of men,' to what Mr Morley calls his 'absence of faith in the reasoning faculty,' to his impatience and contempt of all ideas outside a somewhat narrow range, and also to his extraordinary power of grasping and visualising the particular.

Jeffrey somewhere remarks that a contemporary historian is like a traveller in Alpine valleys, who marvels at the details of the scenery, but who can form no general idea of the direction of the mountain chains and the relative height of the loftiest peaks; while he who looks back on events, after time has shown which are really important, is like one who has climbed to the highest point in the range, and who no longer sees the details of the landscape, but only a vast panorama disclosing the general features of the country. We may apply this metaphor to Carlyle. He rarely carries us to the summit of such a specular mount. He is more attracted by the picturesque which is to be found at lower heights, and calls our attention sometimes to the green meadows and grazing cattle, more often to the blasted pines on the hillside, or to the roar of the destroying avalanche. He bids us observe just those things which are most striking when seen from near. His vivid descriptions affect us as the events themselves would have done, had we been eye-witnesses, and make it difficult to realise their relative importance.

So much occurred in the Revolution that was startling, so sensational was the drama enacted, so fantastic were the follies of the actors, so great their crimes, so swift and awful their punishment, that as we gaze our judgment is clouded by our excitement, and that which is terrible, strange, and tragic appears important even when really of little moment. Carlyle does not help us to look steadily at the tumultuous scene, and to discern the set of the steady and resistless tide of progress beneath the wild waves and blinding foam driven by the battling winds. On the contrary, the very brilliancy of his presentment of that personal and superficial side of the Revolution, to which he was most attracted, does

but perplex his reader, who 'seeks in vain in him for the political meaning of the Revolution, as distinguished from its moral or dramatic significance, finding no word on the subject nor even consciousness that such a word is needed.' Indeed, as Mr Fletcher remarks, his book is not a history at all. It is a series of most vividly painted scenes and lifelike portraits held up before us and commented on with a view to enforce a few moral dogmas.

Carlyle had, it is true, little sympathy with the French and less with democracy. To liberty he was indifferent. He applauds Madame de Staal's saying that she never had been so truly free as when a prisoner in the Bastille. The fatalist, if he is logical, can hardly value freedom of action; and in theory Carlyle would probably have agreed with the Stoic that a perfect life may be lived not less easily by slave than by emperor; although, had he himself been a slave, in what bitter gall would he not have dipped his pen to describe the misery of his lot and the caprices of his master! Equality, the equality of men equal by nature in virtue and intelligence and capacity for self-government, was the negation of his cardinal doctrine, that the blind and foolish many can only attain to some measure of happiness by submitting to be drilled and led by the hero before whom, if they are wise, they will fall down and worship. It was only as a great destruction that the Revolution inspired his enthusiasm and fired his imagination. 'The destructive wrath of Sansculottism, this' (he says) 'is what we speak, having unhappily no voice for singing.'

The spirit of the Revolution, as he conceives it, is 'the fanaticism of making away with formulas,' of burning up shams. It appears to him a miraculous thing. Everything that he detests, 'Respectability with all her collected gigs,' bank paper and book paper, theories, philosophies, and sensibilities, all the lumber of the eighteenth century, all the decaying relics of dead feudalism and putrescent catholicism shrivel up before it, burnt with unquenchable fire. It is consistent with this view of his subject that he should begin by describing the France of the eighteenth century as a world of outworn and empty forms, shadowy phantoms of what had once been realities, returning like vampires from the grave to suck the blood of anything still living amid the 'mouldering mass of sensuality and

falsehood.' The monarchy and the Church were doubly doomed, both because they fell short of the old ideal, and because the age was decadent, 'one in which no ideal either grows or blossoms.' The nobles had ceased to perform any useful function, had lost faith in themselves and in duty, and were given up to frivolity and vice. Physical evil was the necessary consequence of moral evil; and the unutterable misery of the people was the result of the dishonesty of their rulers and of the loss of all faith. 'It is an unbelieving people, which has suppositions, hypotheses, and systems of victorious analysis; and for belief, this mainly, that pleasure is pleasant.' Hope indeed remains, for 'philosophism' teaches that man is made to be happy, and that 'by victorious analysis and the progress of the species happiness enough now awaits him.' But this hope is also a delusion, and of all the most deadly; for it is only by believing in something that man can be happy; and the work of philosophism is the destruction of all belief. The work of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists was wholly destructive. Rousseau preached the gospel of sentimentalism; but sentimentalism is no substitute for faith and belief in duty. It is 'twin-sister to cant, or cant itself, a double distilled lie—*materia prima* of the devil.' It is well, it is even necessary, that faith in lies should be destroyed; the contradiction of a lie is some kind of belief; but if, while crushing the lie, we break through 'the thin earth rind of habit' by which society is held together, 'the fountains of, the great deep, fire fountains, enveloping, engulfing, burst forth.'

The cataclysm, therefore, was unavoidable; but it was also necessary, since there was no hope for France unless everything existing was swept away. Hence, to perform its task, the Revolution must be violent and destructive. It was not only his contempt for the whole mechanism of government, for constitutional changes and administrative reforms, which made Carlyle dismiss so scornfully the efforts of the wisest and most moderate men in the Constituent Assembly to establish a limited monarchy. Had the course of the Revolution been thus arrested, the work of demolition would have been incomplete. The impotent monarchy, the corrupt and faithless Church, the law courts with their spurious liberalism and their



essential attachment to outworn formulas, the idle and frivolous nobles, the stock-jobbers and their paper money, economists and political theorists with their mechanical theories of the universe and of the state, sceptical followers of Voltaire, and believers in the new faith preached by Rousseau—these must in turn be dashed against each other and shattered by the rising storm of sansculottic frenzy in order that the ground may be cleared—for what? Carlyle does not tell us. When, with Robespierre and Saint-Just, the last ‘formula’ of the eighteenth century, the Gospel according to Jean-Jacques, is swept away, he impatiently closes his volume.

As Mr Fletcher, in his suggestive introduction, remarks,

‘Carlyle perhaps was *felix opportunitate*: the greater number of the actors who survived the gigantic drama were gone, but some were still alive; and his powerful imagination was lighted up at the thought of Sieyès “thinking over it all” at the close of his strange life, and of Marat’s sister still living in a garret in Paris.’

But Carlyle’s imagination hardly needed such stimulus, nor even that of meeting, during a visit to Paris in 1825, men who had themselves played a part in the Revolution.\* We are inclined to regret that he should not have written somewhat later, when he might have worked with materials sifted and arranged for use with more patience than he could himself command, and under the guidance of men who had more special knowledge. Tocqueville’s great work, the influence of which may be traced in every sane appreciation of the Revolution since the middle of the last century, did not indeed appear till fifteen years after the publication of the ‘French Revolution.’ But in 1839 a book was published, ‘The History of Louis XVI,’ by Joseph Droz, which has never received the recognition due to its really exceptional merit, and to which, therefore, we are pleased to find that Mr Rose frequently refers his readers.

\* Legendre, the butcher, the enemy of the Girondins and the friend of Danton, cannot, as Mr Rose supposes (Introduction, p. xii), have been among these, since he died on December 13, 1797, leaving his body to the faculty of medicine ‘in order that, even after his death, he might be of use to mankind.’

Droz, who was born at Besançon in 1773, began his history in 1811. Of some of the events he describes he may himself have been an eye-witness. He had shared the hopes and the despair of the moderate reformers. He had seen many of his friends ruined or exiled or proscribed. Yet even now, when during the course of more than a century the mists of passion and prejudice ought surely to have lifted, there are few French writers who take a clearer, more impartial view of the course of events between 1774 and 1792 than this almost contemporary historian. Had Carlyle read this book he would perhaps have formed a truer conception of the Revolution. The shape it took might not have appeared to him so inevitable; he might have been more just to the best men in the Constituent Assembly; he might not have turned away so contemptuously from all that was done, to dwell almost exclusively on what was undone. And yet it is by no means certain that this would have been the case. He had a great impatience of all that did not tally with his preconceived ideas.

Mr Bernard Mallet quotes a characteristic passage from a letter written by Carlyle to the son of Mallet du Pan.

‘At an early period of my studies on the French Revolution I found the Royalist side of that huge controversy to be an almost completely mad one, destined on the whole to die for ever; and thus, except where Royalists had historical facts to teach me, had, after a short time, rather to shun than seek acquaintance with them, finding in their speculative notions nothing but distress and weariness for me, and generally, instead of illumination in my researches, mere darkness visible. It was in this way that I as good as missed Mallet du Pan, confounding him with the general cohue.’

Thus, too, he missed Mounier and other writers who would have thrown much light on a side of the Revolution which he was content practically to ignore. So completely had he chosen to leave Mallet du Pan on one side that, when enumerating the newspapers published in the early days of the Revolution, he does not mention his paper, the ‘*Mercure de France*,’ certainly the ablest and most highly reputed journal in France.

The old order was doomed when Louis XVI came to the throne; but Carlyle is mistaken in supposing that

the conditions then existing made it inevitable or even probable that the Revolution should take the form of a violent subversion of the existing political and social order. The peaceable transformation of the old monarchy was still possible in 1789; although quiet and orderly reform became more and more difficult after the dismissal of Turgot. Tocqueville says that the common cause of revolution is less persistence in wrong and oppression than ill-considered and hasty change; but the most fertile and unfailing seeds of disorder are sown when reforms are promised and then withheld, when the gates of the Delectable City are opened just long enough to allow a glimpse, all the more fascinating because indistinct, and then again closed on an excited and eager crowd. The attempted reforms of Turgot, which might have saved the monarchy, inflicted upon it, through their abandonment or reversal, the most dangerous wounds.

The government missed their opportunity of directing and moderating the Revolution in May 1789 when the Estates first met. Ten weeks later the constitutional Royalists in their turn failed to seize the one chance of establishing a limited monarchy. After the failure of the plans of the Court in July, the moral authority of the Assembly over the nation was immense. The moderate party were at that time in a majority sufficiently powerful to secure practical unanimity, and, if supported by the provinces, might have been strong enough to overcome the reluctance of the King and to restrain the populace. Unfortunately they, in common with nearly all Frenchmen, still saw in the monarchy nothing but a despotism. Only the most far-sighted—Mirabeau, Malouet, his friend Mallet du Pan, the American Morris, and a few others—saw that the tyranny of the populace and of the demagogues, by whom it was or would be led, was the more pressing danger. The Assembly, which owed its victory on July 18 to the mob of Paris, was weakly indulgent to the excesses of that mob. Ten days passed after the murders of Foulon and Berthier before it voted a timid address recommending moderation to the people. Henceforth it was doomed to follow, not to lead.

Mr Mallet writes with just sympathy of the party to which his great-grandfather's friends belonged, and to

which he gave, in his journal, such good advice, such courageous and disinterested support.

'It was,' he says, 'the only party during the whole course of the Revolution which deserved the description of "statesmanlike"; for of this party alone can it be said that reform, upon the principles advocated by its members, might have averted revolution by founding a strong and durable polity. Fail, indeed, they did; but failure they shared with every other party which survived and succeeded them. And it is a hard fate which caused them not only to be hated at the time for their moderation and foresight both by Royalists and by Republicans, but to lose the place in history which the fascination of horror has obtained for factions even more fleeting than themselves.'

He mentions two causes of their failure—firstly, the want of moral courage shown by the majority in the Assembly, in common with nearly all classes and parties during the revolutionary era; and secondly, the deficient training in public affairs of the members of the Constituent Assembly. To these may be added, as a third cause, equally operative, the constant dread of despotism.

What reforms the moderate party desired may be learnt from the *cahier* which Malouet drafted for his native district, Riom, in Auvergne. They were periodical meetings of the Estates, ministerial responsibility, voluntary taxation, a thorough reform of the unequal and oppressive fiscal system, civil equality, freedom of the press, a systematised national education, codification of the civil and criminal law. What more than these, it may be asked, have 'the immortal principles of 1789' obtained for France? Two things, perhaps. The conversion, owing to the secularisation of church property, of the Gallican Church into an ultramontane and strictly disciplined body, released from the influence of any secular interest and led by a powerful hierarchy; and secondly, a limitation of the right of bequest, which, among other far-reaching consequences of doubtful advantage, has checked the growth of population.

It is almost certain that if these reforms, or even a part of them, had been freely granted by the King at the first meeting of the Estates, the monarchy would have been saved and the royal power more firmly established;

but it is less probable that if, in the summer of 1789, the Assembly had established a constitution such as the moderates desired, the Revolution would have been closed. Would the King have honestly accepted such a limitation of his prerogative? or rather, would he have been able to resist the solicitations of the Queen and of those nearest to him to withdraw his concessions when an opportunity occurred? In any case, hopes and fears that he would do so would have caused general disquiet and restlessness. These who wished to copy the English constitution forgot not only that it was of secular growth, but also that it had been secured by a change of dynasty. A king with a parliamentary title must respect a constitution on which his own right to the throne depends. The Constituent Assembly endeavoured to solve the difficulty by depriving the King of all real authority. They would not, indeed they could not, trust him; and, since to them, as to Crabbe's radical sailor, 'the monarch's servants seemed the people's foes,' they framed a constitution with a king powerless to govern and an executive powerless to act.

Had Carlyle not tossed the 'Mercure de France' aside, he might not have ignored so completely the party of enlightened and patriotic men whose views it represented. But it is not probable that he would have criticised their policy with impartiality or even with patience. One of his chapters is headed 'Make the Constitution.' It is, in fact, an eloquent expression of the writer's contempt for representative bodies generally. They are collections of ambitious contentious persons from all corners of the country into one place, 'where, with motion and counter-motion, with jargon and hubbub, they cancel one another, like the fabulous Kilkenny cats, and produce for net result *zero*.' As for constitution-making, 'in the never so heroic building of Montesquieu-Mably card-castles, though shouted over by the world, what interest is there?' Carlyle accordingly tells us nothing about the legislation accomplished or attempted by the Assembly. We learn no more from him about the measures introducing changes which determined the whole future development of France than we do about those which passed away with the ephemeral constitution of 1791.

Arbitrary in the choice of his authorities, Carlyle was

also uncritical in the use he made of them. Chance enabled him to expose Barère's noble fiction of the 'Vengeur,' which sinks once more with her cheering crew in Mr Beesly's pages, but he used without hesitation the fabrications of such professional liars as Prudhomme and Vilate. There may have been some temptation not to examine too closely stories which enlivened his narrative with some picturesque detail; but we should be more disposed to admit such a plea in the case of a less imaginative writer. Carlyle needed neither tanneries of human skins nor wigs made of hair shorn from the heads of victims to move the pity and the horror of his readers.

No one who wishes to relate past events truly has greater need of cautious criticism in the use of his materials than he who attempts to tell the story of the French Revolution. He has to make his way over the treacherous ashes of controversies still burning; beset by the pitfalls of political passion, he must trust to the guidance of witnesses who saw but partially actions volubly narrated by the actors themselves with the intention of distorting or concealing the truth. Yet, with few exceptions, those who have written on this period have been advocates maintaining a thesis or defending a reputation, and by no means anxious to question the credibility of the witnesses or the authenticity of the documents they could bring into court. Scarcely any historian has a good word for Lamartine's 'History of the Girondins,' which is generally thrown aside as a brilliant historical romance. Yet it is not more inaccurate and partial than the narrative of Thiers, and but little more so than the rhapsody of Michelet or the many-volumed party-pamphlet of Louis Blanc. The merits of Taine's great work are many and conspicuous, but a scrupulous and critical use of authorities is not among them—a defect scarcely to be excused in an author who would have us believe that his method is strictly scientific and inductive. In reality he neither draws his conclusions from the observation of impartially collected facts, nor even tests theories formed *a priori* by comparing them with such facts. Like the rest, he is an advocate. He is determined to overthrow the revolutionary legend. He collects from every source every statement which serves his purpose. He cites every authority, good, bad, or indifferent, as if equally trust-



worthy, and then from this mass of unsifted evidence affects to draw as an inference the assumption which guided him in making the selection. In a less degree M. Aulard, the most able of the quasi-official apologists of the Revolution, is open to the same charge of not being sufficiently careful to test the credibility of his evidence, and of using it, when it happens to be good, in the spirit of an advocate rather than of an historian.

Mr Fletcher, in his introduction, attacks the opinion that the state of the peasantry in France during the reign of Louis XVI was one of hopeless and ever increasing misery, and that their poverty and the suffering caused by excessive taxation and oppressive feudal customs and dues made a violent revolution all but unavoidable. That Carlyle should have accepted what Mr Fletcher calls the 'hunger and misery' view of the *ancien régime* is natural, for it had not as yet been controverted by Tocqueville. It is more remarkable that it should be countenanced by Taine and reasserted in its most extreme shape by Mr Belloc and Mr Beesly in their lives of Danton. The former says:

'The peasants were the majority of the nation . . . they were more ignorant, more fearful, and more unhappy than ever the inhabitants of the French soil had been before. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that the worst of the barbarian invasions had not produced among them such special and intense misery as had the running down of the governmental machine in the eighteenth century.'

Mr Beesly's assertions are even more emphatic and more wild. He thinks that

'all the factors in the Revolution put together might not improbably have failed to revolutionise France if it had not been for the profound misery of the French people';

and then follows a picture of the most exaggerated kind. He quotes one of D'Argenson's many, we cannot help thinking highly coloured, statements about the miserable condition of the peasantry during the earlier part of the reign of Louis XV, and remarks that at the time of Danton's marriage there was no change for the better. Famine was becoming chronic. In Paris alone, he says, there were thirty prisons to receive the victims of *lettres*



*de cachet*. If the prisons were many, there were very few prisoners of state in 1789. Of the seven prisoners found in the Bastille four were forgers, one was a madman, one confined to satisfy his family, and one of whom nothing was known; If we might believe some of the *cahiers*, and the rhetorical denunciations of the *ancien régime* accepted by Mr Beesly, hundreds were groaning in irons, victims of the injustice of the officers of the *capitaineries* or royal forests, where alone those harsh provisions for the preservation of game, of which we so often hear, were in force. In those districts, but in those districts only, it is true that the farmers might not in certain months weed or hoe their crops, or cut their corn with a scythe, or carry firearms, and were compelled to allow sportsmen on horseback or on foot to trample down their standing crops—an offence everywhere else against the law. Yet on the eve of the Revolution there were only thirteen prisoners in penal servitude under sentence of the forest-courts; and of these only three—two murderers and a robber—were prisoners for life.

Mr Beesly shudders at the long enumeration of feudal exactions by which he says the peasantry of Brittany, certainly the most miserable and poverty-stricken province, were tortured. But if this misery and oppression were the cause of the Revolution, why were the Bretons so hostile to it? Why, on the other hand, were the provinces which were the most prosperous, or, if it is preferred, the least wretched, such as Flanders, Picardy, and Champagne, the most revolutionary?

It may be granted that Mr Fletcher misses the mark as far on one side as do Carlyle and Mr Belloc on the other when he says that,

‘to paint the life of the peasant as materially harder or more hopeless than it is at the present day, still more to paint it as so hopeless that nothing short of the *Culbute Générale* could ameliorate it, is to ignore all the teachings of history.’

One fact is sufficient to disprove Mr Fletcher’s paradox that the condition of the French peasant has not improved during the last century—a paradox which can hardly impose on any one who has read Arthur Young, and knows more of rural France than can be seen from the windows of a sleeping-car. In the reign of Louis XVI

the day-labourer was better off than the small peasant proprietor or *métayer*. Such is certainly not the case to-day. But during the nineteenth century the average price of corn rose about twenty-five per cent., the average rate of wages two hundred per cent. The day-labourer is therefore much better off than his predecessor a hundred years ago; and, *a fortiori*, so is the peasant proprietor.

Mr Fletcher probably does not quite mean all he says. He is prone to exaggeration of statement. For instance, when defending the French prelates against the indiscriminate abuse which has been unjustly heaped upon them, he asserts that they would compare favourably with the English bishops, their contemporaries. To show that this is a gross aspersion on the somewhat uninteresting respectability of the English bench, it is not necessary to go back to the time when Massillon bore witness that the scandalous Dubois was a fit successor to the fastidious virtue of Fénelon on the archiepiscopal throne of Cambrai. We will confine ourselves to the last years of the monarchy, and will ask to what scandal affecting the dignitaries of the English Church can Mr Fletcher point comparable to the advancement, by the influence of the Pompadour, of Bernis, her lover, an amatory rhymester, to the highest offices in church and state? The names of three prelates prominent in the Revolution must surely have occurred to Mr Fletcher—the Cardinal of Rohan, of diamond necklace notoriety, Loménie de Brienne, and Talleyrand. Can he point out their analogues among the bishops of George III? But this is a digression from the question we were discussing, the condition of the rural population. This was certainly worse than it is now. We venture to think it scarcely less certain that it was better than it had ever been since the Hundred Years' War, very much better than it was at the beginning of the reign of Louis XV, and that it compared favourably with the condition of the peasantry in other parts of the Continent, though not, as Mr Fletcher supposes, with the condition of the English labourer before the Great War or at the present time.

Writing more than sixty years ago, and with scanty materials—for he found it impossible to work under the conditions imposed on readers in the British Museum—it

is not surprising that Carlyle should have believed the sufferings of the lower classes to have been the chief cause of the Revolution. Nor had he any special aptitude for discerning general causes or tendencies. It is, as we have already said, in his power of vividly realising and relating particular events, in his marvellous insight into character, that his genius is most conspicuous. His method is indeed too much that of a painter who seizes the most characteristic attitude, the most striking expression of his subject, and fixes it on his canvas—a defect which is heightened by a trick of style employed with more propriety by Dickens. Carlyle is apt to label his characters with some constantly repeated epithet or phrase. Maurepas is always light and gyrating; Robespierre is always sea-green and incorruptible; Mirabeau constantly ‘swallows formulas’;\* and Danton ‘reverberates.’ So it comes that he appears to minimise the fluidity, the many-sidedness of character. His judgment of character and conduct was vigorous and acute. Nothing, as Emerson said, escaped the glance of ‘those all-devouring eyes, those portrait-painting eyes’; but the first impression was for the most part accepted as final, and he refused to admit that at another time, or from another point of view, a picture might be drawn quite different and yet not less true. Yet, even after reading Mr Belloc’s and Mr Beesly’s studies of Danton and Robespierre, and the authorities on which they are based, the laborious apologies of MM. Bougeart, Robinet, and Hamel, we may agree with Mr Fletcher that Danton and Robespierre still stand very much as Carlyle drew them.

Rivarol, cynical and prejudiced but keen-sighted, says that all who played a part on the stage of the much-vaunted Revolution—princes, ministers, philosophers, the people and its representatives, even the assassins—were below mediocrity. This is an exaggeration. Among the men called upon to act an important part in public life without much previous experience, there were not a few whose natural ability would have raised them under other conditions to a respectable rank among statesmen,

---

\* So Carlyle mistranslates the elder Mirabeau’s remark that he had ‘*humé toutes les formules*,’ of which the meaning was quite different. The old marquis, when he said that his son had sucked in every formula, meant, in Carlyle’s phraseology, that he had become a windbag.

and two among these, Mirabeau and Danton, were men of real genius. Carlyle is not mistaken when he recognises in them some of the qualities of the hero, the born leader of men. The English public had only known Danton as one of the Terrorists, a little more energetic and a little more corrupt than his fellows, when Carlyle portrayed this *bourgeois* Mirabeau in outlines which are scarcely modified when completed by the minute details with which patient research has supplied later biographers. Carlyle was attracted by Danton, because he saw in this 'Mirabeau of the sansculottes' 'a swallower of formulas of still greater gulp than Mirabeau.' In other words, Danton cared little for social theories, and did not think that he was called upon to govern or to legislate for ideal men. Few would now deny that he was the one practical statesman of insight and resource in the Convention. His assailants admit his ability, but assert that he was corrupt and utterly unscrupulous, and that he valued high place mainly because it enabled him to satisfy his self-indulgent and sensual nature.\*

The three counts in the indictment against him on which they most insist are his venality, his complicity in the massacres of September, and his share in establishing the Reign of Terror. The first of these charges is admitted by Carlyle, who, relying on Mme Roland and the general belief at the time, says, 'Danton and needy compatriots are sopped with presents of cash: they accept the sop; they rise refreshed by it, and—travel their own way.' Danton's apologists have spared no trouble to sift and invalidate the evidence on which this charge rests; and, on the whole, it must be allowed that they have been successful in proving that he took no bribe from the Court. He certainly did not share in the plunder of the Garde-Meuble; nor can it be shown that he embezzled any of the money which passed through his hands, although he may have supped luxuriously at the expense of the Belgians. But, after all, the important fact to the historian is that, justly or not, Danton had the reputation of being an unscrupulous sensualist. Although he

---

\* A contemporary who should have known him well, an observant if not unimpeachable witness, says, 'Danton n'a été un grand scélérat que pour pouvoir être tranquillement un bon drôle.'—Roederer, *Œuvres* iii, 271.

may not have paraded his vices, as Quinet asserts, the contemptuous irony of his cynicism must greatly have impaired his influence with a public so deeply impressed by the well-advertised integrity, the pedantic decency of Robespierre. The 'youthful indiscretions' of Mirabeau, as he himself lamented, impaired his power of serving France; his venality, the proofs of which were discovered after his death, was not less injurious. And between Mirabeau and Danton there was much external resemblance. A massive head on the neck and shoulders of an athlete; a face scarred with small-pox; features inflamed and swollen, yet equally capable of expressing the most violent and the tenderest passions, hate and defiance, sympathy and pity; piercing eyes flashing with anger or softening with a gentler emotion; a resonant voice, which, reverberating like a bell above the roar of a tumultuous crowd, crushed enemies and rallied supporters; a fearless, prompt, and energetic spirit, combining fertility of resource with a passionate common-sense that overpowered and carried away, rather than convinced, the listener; a complete absence of personal rancour and vindictiveness; the easy good-nature of a pleasure-loving disposition—such is the description of Danton; but it would serve equally as a description of the more aristocratic tribune. What wonder if the people, who saw them so similar in all else, should have concluded that the charge of venality made against both was as true in the one case as it had proved to be in the other? They accordingly turned away from Danton to his rival Robespierre, to the man recognised as incorruptible, in all things the antithesis of Mirabeau.

As regards the charge of complicity in the massacres of September, we fear that, on the evidence hitherto produced, the verdict most favourable to Danton is 'not proven.' There is a strong presumption against him. He never himself seriously asserted his innocence. If we entirely acquit him of guilt it must be on the ground that what we know of the man does not allow us to believe that he would consent to such atrocities. He had little sensibility of the kind that was then in fashion, of the kind possessed by Robespierre and Fouché, but he was compassionate, a man with a heart accessible to every human emotion. The worst crime that can be proved against

him is the murder of Mandat, the brave and loyal commander of the National Guards. But he no doubt regarded the Tenth of August as a day of battle, a struggle to overthrow a constitution under which successful resistance to foreign invasion was impossible. With him, as with all Jacobins, it was an accepted maxim that the safety of the people was the supreme law. On other occasions he repeatedly showed his aversion from useless cruelty. At the very time of the massacres he strove to save some of the prisoners, among them his personal enemy Adrien Duport.

That he had no part in the actual conduct of the massacres may be accepted as established,\* but we cannot help believing he knew something of the kind to have been intended. He was in close communication with the leaders of the Commune and of the *Comité de Surveillance* which organised the massacres. He had obtained from the Assembly the decree ordering the domiciliary visits which terrorised the Parisians and filled the prisons with the destined victims. He was neither trusted nor liked by his Girondin colleagues in the ministry. He knew that it was their intention to turn him out of office. On the other hand, he had taken their measure, and was convinced that they were not the men to save France at this crisis of her fate. Ambitious statesmen have at all times been apt to disguise their love of power, even from themselves, as anxiety for the public welfare. But Danton justly believed himself to be indispensable. It was therefore natural that he should seek to establish his authority in the ministry and in the future Convention. There was also another reason which might make it appear necessary to strike some great blow which would intimidate the Assembly. It had

---

\* Yet Mme de Béarn ('Souvenirs de Quarante Ans,' etc., Paris, 1861, p. 135) quotes a letter written by herself to her sister, Mme de Saint-Aldégonde, describing her escape from the massacre at la Force, thanks to the exertions of a certain Hardy. After various adventures he makes her get into a flacre with himself and another man, who asks if she recognises him. 'Parfaitement, lui dis-je; vous êtes M. Billaud Varenne, qui m'avez interrogée à l'Hôtel de Ville.' 'Il est vrai, dit-il, je vais vous conduire chez Danton, afin de prendre ses ordres à votre sujet.' Arrivés à la porte de Danton, ces messieurs descendirent de voiture, montèrent chez lui et revinrent peu après, me disant 'Vous voilà sauvée! Nous en avons assez, nous sommes bien aises que cela soit fini.'



decreed the dissolution of the insurrectionary Commune. It was certain that the Commune would not yield without a struggle; nor could Danton wish that it should do so, since it was the basis of his power. But a struggle meant civil war in the streets of Paris, a contest which would paralyse all resistance to the enemy, now within a few days' march of the capital. The new levies, instead of hurrying to the frontiers, would employ against their countrymen the arms which had been collected with so much difficulty. The dissensions of the Republicans would inspire vigour and unity into the councils of their enemies, whom Danton wished to persuade that France had a strong and united government. 'Oderint dum metuant' may well have been the thought which inspired his conduct. It cannot be denied that the massacres secured the immediate objects of his policy. The Assembly was cowed; and Danton for some weeks became practically dictator. Quiet citizens were frightened from the polls; and he and his party were returned as members for Paris in the future Convention.

Nor is there much force in the argument that the humanity which was one of Danton's better qualities makes it unlikely that he should have consented to the murder of the prisoners. His humanity was a matter of temperament and not of principle. He did not *see* the victims, most of whom were unknown to him; and the actual scenes of horror at the prisons were no doubt very different from anything in the project communicated to the Minister of Justice, if we may assume such a communication to have been made. Slaughter of the innocent or the half-innocent is a terrible thing. But more terrible still, he may have argued, would be the triumph of Brunswick—the country devastated by fire and sword; Paris exposed to the horrors of a sack; the return of the *émigrés*, whose threats of vengeance horrified even their allies. The doomed prisoners were but few when compared with the victims of one pitched battle. So reasons Carlyle, unbiassed by self-interest or political passion. Slaughter according to rule in war, he says, becomes customary and moral enough; in revolution it has not become customary. So we shriek about it; and yet—the hiatus is left for the reader to supply.

But whether he knew what was intended or not, it



cannot be disputed that Danton, as Minister of Justice, did nothing to stop bloodshed. Nor, say his apologists, did Roland, the Minister of the Interior, whose austere propriety cannot be accused of connivance; and we are therefore asked to infer that all interference was impossible. The fury of the mob was irresistible—'seventy times seven hundred hearts in a state of frenzy,' says Carlyle. So, too, Mr Belloc and Mr Beesly ascribe the murder of the victims, with whom the Commune and Danton had crowded the prisons, to the populace of Paris maddened by angry fear. Longwy had surrendered; Verdun was about to fall; soon the enemy would be at their gates; and here in their midst were the accomplices of the traitors who were returning to exterminate all patriots. But there is no proof whatever of any irresistible popular movement. The atrocities were perpetrated by a comparatively small number of hired assassins led by Maillard.\* The order given to him to 'judge' all the prisoners in the Abbaye exists, with the signatures of Panis and Sergent, members of the *Comité de Surveillance*; and there is no doubt that the 'workers' at the prisons claimed and received payment from the Commune. But it is superfluous to labour this point, since the guilt of the *Comité de Surveillance* is admitted not only by M. Sorel, the greatest as well as the most impartial historian of the Revolution since Tocqueville but also by M. Aulard, the ablest and best informed of its apologists.

We cannot therefore accept the plea of Danton's English biographers, who excuse his passive acquiescence in the slaughter of the prisoners on the ground that there was no armed force that could be opposed to the maddened populace. That a few resolute men might have checked and dispersed the actual assassins is shown by the fact that, at the only place where resistance was attempted, the prison of La Petite Force, the prisoners were saved. Danton, therefore, had he chosen, could have prevented or stopped the massacres, but only at the risk of provoking a conflict between the government

---

\* See Taine ('*La Révolution*,' vol. ii, p. 291 *et seq.*); Mortimer Ternaux (vol. iii, 183 *et seq.*, v, 18 *et seq.*); and for a very fair and full summary of the question, Buchez and Roux ('*Hist. Parl.*' vol. xvii, p. 401).

and the Commune; and such a conflict he probably believed would be fatal to France. At every cost unity, or, if not unity, the semblance of unity, must be maintained. Rather than disclose the weakness of the government, he would let it be thought that he had sanctioned the massacres: 'Let France be saved, even though my name be blasted.' This seems to us to be the best defence of which the facts admit.

It is easier to justify the policy of Danton as the opponent of the Girondins and the organiser of the Terror. Mr Belloc rightly points out that the supreme need of France in the spring of 1793 was a strong and energetic government. The Girondins, supported by the majority of the Assembly, might have supplied that want had they accepted the proffered alliance of Danton and submitted to his leadership. He had the political insight and the practical common-sense in which they were deficient. Among the Girondins were many sincere patriots, some men of estimable character, and a few brilliant orators—the materials of a parliamentary party, or even of a ministry in quiet times, when eloquence and good intentions can support the reputation of a statesman. Mr Belloc, in his exaggerated way, calls them 'a devoted band of men whose whole career was justice and virtue, to whom no one has dared to be contemptuous, and whom history on every side has left heroes.' It is impossible to read without a smile this description of a party led by the adventurer Brissot, a party of which Louvet, the author of 'Faublas,' 'wretched cloaca of a book,' was the mouthpiece, and of which Pétion, on whom Mr Belloc pours such merited contempt, was a prominent member. He justly points out that their ideal republic could not meet Europe in arms. Yet he hardly recognises how personal were the motives which inspired their opposition to Danton and their rejection of his repeated appeals, both public and private, for common action. They hated him first and above all because he was their most formidable rival; but that hatred they justified to others, and probably to themselves, by more plausible reasons.

'Everything in Danton,' says M. Sorel, 'was odious to them. His antecedents appeared questionable, his connections discreditable, his character disreputable, his methods

iniquitous, his political empiricism unenlightened, his popularity dangerous.'

Danton rightly held union to be essential. The Girondins, although they had not as a party opposed the measures which laid the foundations of the absolute power of the Committee of Public Safety, refused to assist Danton in organising a strong government, and appeared to be on the point of an armed conflict with the municipality and the Jacobins. He therefore determined to drive them out of the Convention, and then, master of the purged Assembly, to concentrate all its power in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety. He was so far successful that he got rid of the Girondins and established the dictatorship of the committee, armed with the revolutionary army and the revolutionary tribunal; and that this dictatorship organised the national defence and triumphed over the foreign enemies of France. But it was at a cost which he had not contemplated, and which might have been avoided; at the cost of the lives of his opponents and of his own, as well as of thousands of others, who perished on the scaffold in wholesale massacres and in civil war; at the cost, moreover—and this, perhaps, was inevitable—of the destruction of all local self-government and of the re-establishment of a system of centralised bureaucratic despotism which needed but little improvement to satisfy the wants of a Napoleon.

The Girondins had welcomed the assistance of the mob to overthrow the constitution to which they had sworn allegiance. They had recognised might as right. If they found an excuse for popular violence in the dogma of the sovereignty of the people, they had no just reason for complaint when in their turn they were expelled from the Convention and arrested at the bidding of the populace. Danton trusted, after organising the defence of the country and after the suppression of internal anarchy, to close the Revolution and to open an era of moderation and reconciliation. 'Let them go,' he exclaimed, when the expulsion of the Girondins from the Assembly was proposed, 'and return to profit by our victory.' When the Committee of Public Safety was first elected, he had said: 'I proclaim that you will be unworthy of your mission if you keep not constantly before you three objects—to conquer our enemies, to re-establish order at

home, and to found a good constitution.' Unfortunately, although he succeeded in constructing an engine of vast power to effect his purpose, the materials he was compelled to employ were bad, the motive force a dangerous explosive, and he, the engineer, either from weariness and incapacity for long-sustained effort, or compelled by circumstances, abandoned his post and allowed his creation to be used for purposes other than those for which it had been designed.

The government of the Terror was as simple and direct as that of a Roman dictator. At the centre the Committee of Public Safety with the revolutionary tribunal—a sharp sword suspended over the heads of all disposed to question its authority—with the 'representatives on mission,' pro-consuls responsible to it and it only, exercising despotic power in the armies and the provinces. The revolutionary army was to secure it against material resistance, the affiliated clubs and popular societies to convert or silence public opinion. But the ruling committee on which all depended was ill constituted; for where in the Convention could the men be found with the energy and the ability and also the will to carry out every part of the policy conceived by Danton? In the committee which was first elected, and which sat for three months, he himself had a place; and although his attendance seems to have been far from regular, he no doubt guided the general policy and determined every important decision of his colleagues. But, if we except Cambon, a financier, Lindet, an administrator of ability, and Barère, pre-eminent in the unscrupulous and ready servility of his lying tongue and prostituted pen, the other members were at the best of respectable mediocrity.

In the second committee, which was elected in July 1793, and which ruled France for a year, there was more capacity, but also far more corruption and vice. Danton had not been re-elected. He declared that he would sit in no committee, but be a guide and a spur to all. This was a fatal mistake. His power to influence a government of which he was not a member depended on his popularity. Like Mirabeau, he found that his reputation made it difficult for him to obtain the confidence and support of respectable and moderate men. Of the two they preferred Robespierre, who observed all the decencies dear to the middle classes.

Robespierre was a man of feeling, even of religion, as religion was understood by the followers of Rousseau; sober and temperate in life; of integrity already so well known in 1791 that, when his portrait was exhibited in that year, 'The Incorruptible' was thought a sufficient indication of the original. Even his outward appearance, with well-brushed tidy clothes and powdered hair, was as reassuring as the burly frame, the slovenly dress, the bloodshot eyes and pock-marked features of Danton were repulsive to a decent citizen. It was a new version of the old fable. The sleek coat, the monotonous purr, and the feline repose of Grimalkin inspired confidence in the timorous mouse, which fled in alarm from the cock's resonant voice and clapping wings. It was only as a demagogue that Danton could be popular. He was therefore obliged to use the language of a demagogue. But it was useless for him to offer councils of moderation and hints of clemency wrapped up in violent language and revolutionary rant—'every day the head of some aristocrat must fall, but spare the innocent.'

In the new committee Robespierre and the men of blood were supreme. The minority of organisers and administrators, Carnot, Prieur of the Côte d'Or, Lindet, and Jean Bon Saint-André, did not attempt to dispute their policy. Content to be allowed to save France from her foreign enemies, they performed one part of the task for which the committee had been designed. M. Sorel has well pointed out that the government of the Terror was just as ill suited to conduct civil administration and to conciliate domestic enemies as it was admirably adapted to organise and direct the republican armies. Absolute and centralised power, exacting the most prompt and unquestioning obedience, offers the best security for military success; and this power was in the capable hands of Carnot, assisted by Prieur and an excellent staff composed of officers who had served in the old army—Lacué de Cessac, Montalembert, Favart, d'Arçon, and others. Even in the hands of a Marcus Aurelius, an untempered despotism may not be the best instrument of civil governments but in the Committee of Public Safety domestic affairs were mostly left to Collot d'Herbois, whose cruelties at Lyons had shocked even Fouché, to Billaud-Varenne, who had cheered on the murderers of September to their work,

and to Saint-Just, a conspicuous instance how entirely 'devotion to some general doctrine can eat out our morality and destroy all feeling for individual fellow-men.'

The composition of the revolutionary tribunal was not less defective. 'Let us organise it,' said Danton, 'if not well, for that is impossible, yet as little ill as may be.' But Fouquier Tinville and his colleagues, with their brutalised and intimidated jurymen, surpassed in savage inhumanity the ruffians who held mock trials of their victims during the massacres of September. For these not only acquitted but rejoiced at the acquittal of not a few of those brought before them. It is true that so long as Danton was in power the number of victims was not large. Only thirty-eight prisoners were sentenced to death during the first three months of the existence of the tribunal. But among these were a poor serving-woman, a cab-driver, and a drunken soldier, guilty only of having spoken with disrespect of the present or regret for the past government. Can the judicial murder of such poor creatures be defended as necessary to intimidate the enemies of the republic? Well might Danton ask pardon of God and men for his share in the creation of this monstrous instrument of tyranny. Nor could a sufficient number of capable and not too unscrupulous men be found to act as the prosecutors of the Committee of Public Safety in the provinces. Absolute power had to be entrusted to such miscreants as Carrier, Jean le Bon, Tallien, or Fouché, while the revolutionary army, an organised rabble of thieves and murderers, fled before the rebels whom their excesses had driven to take up arms.

At the end of the summer of 1793 Danton was ill. He was morally and physically weary, and he abandoned the committee and the Convention at the most critical moment. When he came back he found Robespierre dominant in the committee, in the clubs, and in the servile Assembly. That for nearly a year Robespierre should have been the most powerful man in France may appear one of the most amazing phenomena of the Revolution. Never perhaps did a man of shallower intellect, with less insight, less grasp of realities, attain to such a position. None of Carlyle's epithets are misapplied. He was 'long-winded, acrid, implacable, impotent, dull-drawling.' 'A pedant,'



says Mr Morley, 'cursed with the ambition to rule.' How was it that, although he had none of the qualities which we expect in a ruler of men, he was able to attain the object of his ambition? The explanation generally given is that, at a time when all were suspected, he had deserved and secured the reputation of incorruptibility. This, no doubt, was one, and perhaps the chief source of his influence. Moreover, he spoke a language which the people understood; and what he said had the ring of conviction. Although his intellect was narrow, it was clear and ready. He expressed pedantically, but in an intelligible and logical manner, ideas which were confusedly present to the minds of those he addressed. The commonplaces of the Jacobin clubs, the quotations from the Gospel of Rousseau which he was never weary of repeating, were as refreshing to his audience as the texts of some Habakkuk Mucklewrath to a gathering of Cameronians. His influence was largely due to the fact that he himself believed what he said. He cannot, of course, have seriously thought that men like Danton and Phélippeaux conspired against the republic; but they resisted and criticised him, and therefore most certainly they were traitors, faithless to those principles of which he was the consistent and convinced exponent. But nothing perhaps was more conducive to his success than his skill in perfidious innuendo, and in putting forward others to give such a direction to popular feeling that by drifting with the current he could reach the point at which he was aiming. It was only when he had obtained power that the barrenness of his ideas and his incapacity for action became patent.

After the 20th of Prairial, Robespierre was master of the state as he had never been before. If he had any plan, now was the time to realise it, to apply the panacea which was to remedy the ills of the state. But he had no idea, no plan; and the only remedy which he knew was the old one, to kill and kill, until all the wicked, in other words, all who were not his votaries, were exterminated. No doubt Bourdon, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varenne, Fouché, Tallien, and the other unprincipled scoundrels, who were on every ground an offence to him, were among the doomed, for their existence was incompatible with the establishment of that ideal republic of which all that he definitely knew was, that it must be



the reign of virtue, in other words, of Maximilien Robespierre. Loyalty and ancient honour had perished unavenged with Malesherbes, innocence with the Princess Elizabeth, the Revolution itself with Danton; but now the Terrorists trembled, and the man stained with such noble blood perished when he became formidable to these wretches—'hoc nocuit Lamiarum coede madenti.' Common opinion, which identified the Terror and Robespierre, was not unjust. He was fear incarnate. His timid and suspicious soul detected enemies and traitors on every side. Fear was the one instrument of his policy; and by fear he was struck down and slain.

Did we wish to write a theodicy, to vindicate the ways of divine justice, no better illustration perhaps could be found than in the history of the French Revolution. On the tragic stage of the revolutionary drama punishment trod close on the heels of offence. The double dealing and vacillation of the Court, the frivolity and factious folly of the Right, the subservience to theories and cant and the reckless demagogism of the more ardent reformers, the pusillanimity and vacillation of the moderate majorities in the Representative Assemblies, the unscrupulous policy of the Girondins, which they imagined to be adroit because it was dishonest, the extravagances and excesses of the Jacobins, the want of public spirit and too ready submission shown by decent citizens to whatever masqueraded in the garb of authority—in short, the errors and crimes of the few, the follies and the selfishness of the many, all alike reaped their appropriate reward. Here, written large, we may read the truth so obvious and so often ignored, and by none more frequently than by Carlyle with all his moral fervour, that the choice of means is not less important than that of ends. A policy based on treachery, violence, and injustice is a mistaken policy, however excellent the object it pursues; for, once committed to cruel and ruthless courses, we cannot turn back but must persevere; and crimes must be defended by crimes.

P. F. WILLERT.

# Art. VII.—ASIA IN TRANSFORMATION.

1. *The Middle-Eastern Question.* Special correspondence of the 'Times,' Oct. 1902—April 1903.
2. *La Russie à la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Edited by M. W. de Kovalevski. Paris: Dupont and Guillaumin, 1901.
3. *Greater Russia.* By Wirt Gerrare. London: Heinemann, 1903.
4. *All the Russias.* By Henry Norman, M.P. London: Heinemann, 1902.
5. *La Question d'Orient. Le Chemin de Fer de Bagdad.* By André Chéradame. Paris: Plon, 1903.
6. *Ten thousand miles in Persia.* By Major P. Molesworth Sykes. London: Murray, 1902.
7. *The Persian Problem.* By H. J. Whigham. London: Isbister, 1903.

LORD CURZON, in his recent budget speech, drew attention to the transformation of Asia which has taken place in the last fifteen years, and the inevitable effect of this change on the position of our Indian Empire. Let us go back a little farther, and compare the India of 1857 with that of to-day—a comparison admirably drawn by a special correspondent of the 'Times' in his recent letters on the Middle-Eastern Question. In 1857 India was isolated by land and sea; Russia's march towards the south and east had hardly begun; her utmost borders were separated by hundreds of miles from north-eastern Persia and Afghanistan, and by a vast territory, the Amur region, from the Sea of Japan. Her dominion in Asia was limited to the isolated waste of Siberia. France had not yet begun to establish her Indo-Chinese Empire. Germany was still a loose confederation, hardly dreaming of interest in Asia or of world-power. To-day Russia has the whole of Central Asia in her grasp and northern Persia within striking distance, while the Persian capital and court are submissive to her will; her territories march with Afghanistan for hundreds of miles; and she is absorbing Turkestan and Mongolia, as she has already absorbed Manchuria. France has founded an extensive empire in Indo-China, which already touches British territory in Upper Burma, while she is pushing her way steadily into China and threatening Siam. Germany, already firmly settled in

northern China, is not as yet established in the Middle East, but she means to gain a footing in Mesopotamia and make her way to the Persian Gulf. Turkey and Persia, it must be noted, have acquired authority which they did not formerly possess, affording many openings for intrigues. Not the least of the changes is the fact that to-day we are met by rivals in commerce as well as in politics, and not only by the open competition of individual traders, but by that of powerful states, wielding all the resources at their command.

We see, therefore—to quote Lord Curzon—that, ‘as all the foreigners [the European Powers] arrive upon the scene and push forward into the vacant spots, we are slowly having a European situation re-created in Asia with the same figures on the stage. The great European Powers are also becoming the great Asiatic Powers; already we have Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and Turkey; and then, in place of all the smaller European kingdoms and principalities, we have the empires and states of the East, Japan, China, Tibet, Siam, Afghanistan, Persia, only a few of them strong and robust, the majority containing the seeds of inevitable decay.’

In this transformation of Asia and general reconstruction of interests in that continent there has inevitably occurred a breaking-up of the old divisions into which our Asiatic policy was wont to fall. We can no longer speak with accuracy of the Far-Eastern problem as a thing by itself; for the Far East, now the cockpit of the nations, influences domestic as well as foreign policy. The ‘Far East,’ the ‘Middle East,’ and the ‘Indian frontier’ problems have become inextricably interwoven, and are complicated by European policies. The Russo-French *entente* is as significant in relation to Asiatic affairs as it is in Europe; and the break-up of the Triple Alliance in Europe will have a far-reaching effect on the eastern continent. Altogether it must be recognised that Asia is becoming more and more an annexe of Europe, and that the time is past when any one of the great Powers could regard with indifference the changes occurring in that part of the hemisphere. Lord Curzon makes no mention of the United States, but that Power, by reason of its commerce and its Pacific conquests, is already involved in Asiatic affairs; and with the cutting of a Trans-isthmian canal

she will expand still further her designs—to which Mr Roosevelt has recently given expression—for dominance in the Pacific Ocean.

In whatever light we regard the transformation of Asia, there is one stupendous feature which arrests our attention. The growth of Russia, although we are already so accustomed to it as to be almost indifferent, has been one of the most wonderful developments in modern history; there is at present practically no part of the vast Asiatic continent where the 'Russian question' is not a factor to be considered.

To take first the situation which more directly concerns this country—that of India. As already pointed out, India's isolation is a thing of the past; indeed, in an age of expansion, improved communications, and the defeat of physical difficulties, isolation in any part of the globe is almost an impossibility, and ceases to be a safeguard as soon as interests arise to which it is a barrier. India has herself expanded, especially in Burma; but it is of course the advance of Russia which has in the last forty years done away with India's isolation. This advance has involved the absorption of a number of buffer-states; and incidentally we see the destruction of another political shibboleth of the nineteenth century. Buffer-states are becoming more and more rare in every part of the globe, and must eventually disappear entirely before the ambitious expansion of great Powers. It is no longer possible to regard a buffer-state, wherever placed, as a permanent factor in any political situation.

As regards the character of Russia's dominion in Central Asia, various opinions are expressed by the few British travellers who have visited parts of that region—for only certain selected sections are open to inspection, and those only to favoured individuals. On the whole, there is little doubt that the Khanates are better off united under one despotic rule than torn between half a dozen. Mr Norman, who sees everything Russian through spectacles which, if not rose-coloured, are certainly tinged with pink, can say nothing more enthusiastic about the inhabitants than that they enjoy 'comparative happiness and well-being.' Nevertheless, he says:—

'I may as well set down the reflection now, that Russia has carried out a great task here, and, on the whole, most worthily.

Not only must the greatness of her conquest evoke our admiration, but the qualities of civilisation she has afterwards imposed . . . should also win our sincere respect. . . . Russia is doing more to educate her people, both Russian and native, in Central Asia than she is doing in Europe' (p. 286).

Whatever her methods of conquest and of government after conquest, there can be no two opinions as to the stability of Russia's present dominion in Central Asia. Orientals, when deprived of the stimulus afforded by internecine strife, generally lose their fighting spirit and power of organisation; and Russia, having subdued them once with a thoroughness amounting to ferocity, does not irritate them by interference with customs or religion, and has therefore little to fear from the eight or ten millions of her Central Asian subjects. Although every step in the Central Asian advance was viewed with some alarm by this country, as bringing Russia nearer and nearer the Indian frontier, it was not generally supposed that her ambitions would lead her further than the absorption of those petty states whose internal relations afforded an excuse for the advance if they did not actually invite it.

The extension of the Russian Empire to the Pacific, and her successful manœuvres in the direction of the Chinese capital have, however, created another situation. Her frontiers are now coterminous for an enormous distance with those of the Chinese Empire; and as China decays from the centre, the great unwieldy outlying parts of her empire must inevitably become more and more permeated by Russian influence. Having failed to obtain from China special privileges in Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan, Russia is, in characteristic fashion, gaining her ends by underground methods. Chinese Turkestan lies entirely at her mercy; and in Mongolia Chinese authority is being rapidly replaced by that of Russia, who is laying the foundations of a control which some day will be as complete there as it already is in Manchuria. There remains Tibet, lying directly on the frontiers of north-eastern India. There are many evidences that Russian influence is gaining ground in the forbidden land, in proportion as Chinese influence declines. Relations between Lhasa and St Petersburg have been opened by means of the Buddhist tribes on the frontier,

more or less under Russian influence. From Urga, which is practically Russian, the same influence is being strengthened throughout Tibet by means of the chief Lama. Within the last three or four years missions of Russian Buddhists have reached Lhasa; and these visits were returned by two missions from Tibet, which were received by the Tsar in person. Russian scientific missions with Cossack escorts are accorded facilities not permitted to other nations in outlying parts of Tibet—Sven Hedin, travelling under Russian protection, is an example; and there are many other signs that the exclusive policy of Tibet is gradually yielding to the gentle persuasions of Russia.

The more pressing nature of the north-western frontier question has somewhat blinded us in past years to the possibility of an extension of the problem to the north-east. The great natural rampart of the Himalayas, and the rigid isolation of Tibet, seemed sufficient protection; but the growing influence of Russia in Turkestan and the ascendancy of the Russian star in China must seriously affect the situation as regards China's vassal Tibet. Although there may never be a question of the actual invasion of India from the north-east, the influence of another Power, making itself felt in a host of minor ways, involves many complications in connexion with the frontier states. It is little understood in this country, that the north-eastern frontier of India is practically fringed by native states—Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan—subject to their own chiefs under varying conditions, although included in the sphere of British India. Nepal, one of the best recruiting grounds for our native forces—no less than sixteen battalions of Gurkhas are found in the Indian army—is one of these; and the intercourse between this state and Tibet is regular and frequent. The Nepalese government has a permanent resident at Lhasa; and numerous Nepalese merchants and pilgrims visit that capital, where they have a special quarter assigned to them. Sikkim and Bhutan, again, are both Buddhist. The valley of Chumbi offers the easiest access to India from Tibet. Gurkha armies have invaded Tibet; and in the latter part of the eighteenth century a Tibetan and Chinese army crossed the Himalayas and advanced to the capital of Nepal,



extorting a treaty of submission. So late, indeed, as 1887 a body of Tibetans entered Sikkim.

There is also an eastern frontier question, with elements of unrest which are at present little recognised. France in Indo-China actually touches our frontier on the upper Mekong; she has also pretensions as regards Siam, which are of great significance; and she is, moreover, working steadily up through south-western China towards the plateau which practically overlooks Burma. France by herself may not present any serious menace, but as the ally, and possibly even the tool of Russia, she assumes a very different character. Despite the treaties by which the integrity of Siam is supposed to be safeguarded, her situation is such, with France on the one side and England on the other, and the rapid development of the Malay states to the south, that she cannot, without complete internal reform and reorganisation, on a scale similar to that accomplished by Japan, possibly hope to retain her independence. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the bright promise of some years past, there seems too much reason to believe that national reform on Western lines is beyond the power of the Siamese. The greatest care is needful to prevent a complication in Eastern affairs which would endanger the recently renewed friendship between Great Britain and France in Europe.

One of the most important features in the Asiatic situation is the rapid extension of railways. The construction of railways in Asia began in India in 1853 with three miles at Bombay; the mileage of India is now 27,000 miles. The extension of the Russian system into Asia began so late as 1882 with the Trans-Caspian railway; and Russia has been adding to her mileage, in Asia as well as in Europe, by leaps and bounds every year since. She now possesses a railway system of 50,000 miles. The accompanying map shows, in the first place, the Trans-Siberian crossing Asia in an almost straight line from west to east, giving a through connexion between the Baltic and the Pacific, and dropping down through the Chinese Empire to the Yellow Sea. From the Trans-Siberian, a line will shortly run directly south to Kalgan, west of Peking, whence a Franco-Belgian railway is being continued south to the mid-Yangtze at Hankau. From Hankau to Canton another line,



7  
h  
l.  
n  
is  
-  
a  
a.  
e,  
e  
es  
e-  
ne  
at  
at  
le  
o  
g  
o  
n  
st  
n  
d  
ic  
n-  
53  
is  
m  
an  
e,  
ry  
00  
e,  
ht  
on  
yn  
m  
th  
an  
ze  
ne,

7  
nominally American but in reality Belgian, is under construction, so that China will shortly be traversed from north to south by a trunk railway. France is pushing a line through the south-west provinces to the navigation limit of the Yangtze; when this is complete she will (irrespective of the American line) have, by means of the Yangtze, a junction with the Peking-Hankau line, and so practically with Russia in the north—a most important factor in the Dual Alliance. In Shantung Germany has already constructed several hundred miles of railway; and, despite her very partial success in colonisation there, she means to provide her sphere of influence with a complete system of communications.

Farther to the south-east we find a projected line from Singapore, through the Malay peninsula, intended to connect with the Burmese railways, and thus eventually with the Indian system. At present this line is only in a fragmentary stage, but, owing to the great development of British Malaya, it will certainly in time become an accomplished fact, despite physical difficulties. The Viceroy of India recently decided against the practicability of a line to link Burma with China, although France is pushing her way from Tongking through Yunnan to the upper Yangtze. The only line at present completed in Siam is one from Bangkok to Korat, which is of doubtful value to the Siamese from a strategic point of view, as Korat is in the territory over which France desires to establish her authority.

Leaving the Indian system out of the question, we turn to the Middle East. The Trans-Caspian line, starting from Krasnovodsk on the Caspian, skirts north-eastern Persia and runs by Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand, Khokand, and Margilan to Andijan in Fergana, with a branch north to Tashkend. This railway (2320 miles in length), which was built chiefly by military railway battalions, will be connected by a line (1200 miles in length) running north-west from Tashkend to Orenburg, on the borders of European Russia, and thus connecting the Trans-Caspian railway with the Trans-Siberian as well as the European system. It is being pressed forward, and will be completed in 1905.

All these lines, and others which will in time be constructed to link together the scattered parts of Asiatic

Russia, are of great strategic importance in connexion with those running south from the Trans-Caspian. The Merv-Kushk railway brings Russia to within 80 miles of Herat, and about 450 miles of the terminus of the Indian railway system. The Meshed extension brings her into Khorassan, the north-eastern province of Persia, and one of her richest, especially in grain. The question of a further extension southward, desired by Russia, is discussed elsewhere; here we need only point out—what is best understood by a reference to the sketch-map—the position which India would occupy were such a line constructed, shut in on the east by a French line which cuts her off from China, and on the west by a Russian line, connected with the main system on the north, severing us from Persia and terminating, doubtless, in a second Port Arthur on the Persian Gulf. When, in conjunction with these railways on the east and west, we reflect on the position of Tibet and the gradual tightening of the Russian net round the whole Chinese Empire, we feel that the arms of the bear are indeed closing round our Indian Empire, though as yet it is still within our power to break through them.

No factor in Asiatic transformation will bring the European Powers to closer grips with each other than Germany's project of a Mesopotamian line, which includes also a cherished scheme for the revival of that once fertile region and its development under German auspices. The original project for an Euphrates Valley railway was English. Some seventy years ago a route was surveyed by Colonel Chesney, who obtained a firman from the Ottoman Empire authorising the line; but the project was abandoned by Lord Palmerston owing to the objections raised by other Powers. A good deal later, in 1878, Lord Beaconsfield is said to have contemplated a line from the Gulf of Alexandretta to the Persian Gulf; and the acquisition of Cyprus was intended to afford protection to its western terminus. Germany now has a line from the eastern shores of the Bosphorus to Konia, known as the Anatolian railway. From Konia the projected line will run across the Taurus range and the Euphrates valley to Mosul on the Tigris, and thence by Bagdad to a point on the Persian Gulf to be decided later.

The political and economic significance of a German

railway across Asiatic Turkey—the shortest route from Europe to the East—is well shown by M. Chéradame in the admirable volume mentioned at the head of this article.

'Au point de vue de commerce, le fait sera loin sans doute d'avoir l'importance qu'on se plaît souvent à lui attribuer, mais au point de vue de l'influence morale, politique et militaire? Qu'on songe un peu à la signification de ceci: la route la plus courte vers les Indes tombée dans les mains de la première puissance militaire du vieux monde.'

And he quotes a sentence from the German 'Army and Navy Review':—

'Not only the economic rôle of Britain will be changed, but her military importance in Asia will undergo a complete transformation and an unfavourable development.'

Both the French and German writers, in their prognostications as to the evil effects of the Mesopotamian railway on British interests, overlook one side of the question. It is, to say the least of it, extremely doubtful whether the line can ever be built without our consent. The nation is to be congratulated on the fact that the government, which recently appeared to be on the point of giving that consent, was induced by the pressure of public opinion to abstain from conceding the requisite guarantees. In his careful study of the Persian problem Mr Whigham says:—

'We ought to have recognised long ago that it was essential to our position in the Gulf that any Mesopotamian railway, as far as the Bagdad-Busrah portion of it is concerned, should not be built by any European Power except ourselves; and we ought to have set about building it long ago. Unfortunately, we never do possess a clearly defined policy anywhere in the world, and so we content ourselves in this case with decrying the whole railway scheme as impracticable. Fortunately for us there are still great obstacles in the way of its realisation which cannot easily be overcome without our assistance. And, that being so, we may still be able to bargain for the control of the Bagdad-Busrah section. But, in any case, we must make it clear now, and not later, that there is a doctrine for the Gulf which is not the doctrine of the *status quo*, but a doctrine whereby we reserve to ourselves the right of all political development in the Gulf while leaving the trade open to all nations.'

If an all-German line to the Persian Gulf would be inimical to our interests it would be a death-blow to many cherished Russian designs; and we may count on the opposition of that country. 'At the same time it is undeniable that the German scheme will act as a stimulus to Russia and induce her to press forward that absorption of Persia which she is accomplishing by her usual methods. She has already begun a line to Meshed in Khorassan. Her agents in the Persian capital have acquired a paramount influence, backed by the 'Banque de Prêts de Perse,' which is playing in the Middle East the rôle so successfully filled by the Russo-Chinese bank in Manchuria and China. Moscow merchants, aided by Imperial subsidies, have built a good road from Resht to Teheran; and railway engineers have explored the country, frequently disguised as Armenian merchants or German entomologists. The Russian government spends more money on export premiums to Persia than on those to any other country, despite the fact that Russo-Persian trade is comparatively unimportant. Russian consuls-general have been established at Bagdad and Bushire, consuls at Bussorah and Kharput, and a vice-consul at Bajazid, although the total Russian trade with the Persian Gulf does not amount to more than 600*l*. Although, as pointed out by Mr Savage Landor in his interesting account of an overland journey from Flushing to Calcutta, there are no Russians in the Customs service in Persia, Belgians are employed; and he remarks that the Belgian at Seistan was most helpful to all nationalities. The significance of this state of affairs has been missed not only by Mr Landor, but by many other people. To quote Mr Whigham:—

'Any one who has had any experience at all of foreign enterprise in the Far East knows that Belgium is financially, if not politically, an informal participator in the Franco-Russian alliance; and the appointment of Belgian officials at the Gulf ports is hardly less detrimental to our interests than the appointment of Russians would have been.'

As a final instance of Russian influence, the Shah has at Teheran a body of Cossacks, numbering some 2000, commanded by Russian officers, who are regarded as the most reliable of his troops, no doubt partly because they

alone in Persia enjoy the distinction of being paid regularly.

That Russia intends to act in Persia as she has acted in Manchuria cannot be doubted; but the reader of Major Sykes's voluminous account of many journeys and sojourns in the land of Iran will perceive that, by reason of long intercourse and also owing to the calibre of the men who have represented Great Britain in various parts of that country, our position in Persia is not so weak as at first sight it seems to be. Although our influence may be undermined at Teheran and in the north we have still, in the outlying provinces, a strong hold over the people and an influence in local affairs. This we owe greatly to the efforts of men like Major Sykes, who have devoted themselves to a study of the country and its people, while upholding the British rights with unflinching courage and dignity. We have the authority of Mr Landor for the statement that in Seistan, at all events, British prestige is at its zenith; and the selection of officers from the Military-Political Service in India for the consular work in eastern and southern Persia has been a very successful step.

Nevertheless, it would be futile to ignore Russia's ascendancy in the north and at the capital. Persia, as Major Sykes says, lies in the highway of nations, and has a frontier coterminous with that of Russia along the whole extent of her northern and north-eastern borders. Russia's ambitions are the inevitable result of territorial proximity; and we have similar interests in the south and east, and material interests of greater weight and older date. This was well expressed by the 'Times' special correspondent in his letter of April 21, 1903.

'We have an old-established trade of considerable value to our own industry, and of still greater value to India. We have concessions for the construction of roads which should enable our commerce to compete even with the preferential treatment of Russian bounty-fed trade. We have pledges from the Shah's government with regard to railways in the south, which must be redeemed as soon as the Russo-Persian agreement expires, under which Persia has entered into an unprecedented engagement to allow no railways to be built on her territory for a given term of years. We are at present extending the telegraph system which we control in Southern

Persia, and which forms such an important section of our Indo-European communications. Other private enterprises—commercial, financial, industrial—which at least owe their inception to official encouragement, deserve equally to be taken into account. To the strategic importance of Seistan, which has long been recognised by our Indian military authorities, is added now the commercial importance of a new trade route from India, which promises results of increasing value. Both amongst the population of the coast and amongst some of the inland tribes we have clients who have always looked to us for support against the misgovernment of Teheran—a fact which the British minister at Teheran, who has to live with the Central Government, finds it often more convenient to ignore. The zone within which our influence might be made a living force by a systematic co-ordination and concentration of its constituent elements, should certainly not be unduly expanded.'

The exact area of the zone of British influence is a matter for serious study; but, in view of the advance of Russia, there is only one way in which to maintain that zone intact, and that is to build up substantial interests, and to defend at every point those which at present exist. As was pointed out for the first time by the late Alexander Michie, and reiterated by the 'Times' correspondent, by Mr Whigham, and indeed by every writer who has really grasped the situation in Asia, Russia advances always against the lower organisms of political life, but, when she meets substantial interests firmly upheld by a great Power, at once recognises the expediency of coming to an understanding. It is of no use to oppose her by diplomatic expedients; but with facts, actual and insistent, on our side, we shall find Russia unwilling and unprepared to come to an open breach.

There is a strong resemblance between the situation in Persia and the Persian Gulf and that in China and the Gulf of Pechili. It has already been said that the two great factors in the transformation of Asia are the expansion of the great European Powers and the decay of the Asiatic states. Everywhere in the few native-ruled empires which remain in Asia we find the same forces from outside making for their partition and the subjection of their peoples; and nowhere does there exist any faculty of organisation or possibility of cohesive

resistance. Japan is the one exception, and she, of course, owes much to her isolation as an island empire. As for the direct parallel between Persia and China, it is too remarkable to be passed over. In both we see Russia pushing forward from her own territory by means of railways to reach the open sea. In both she uses as one of her most valuable agents the quasi-native banks, all the more useful because official connexion can be disavowed if necessary. In both we see officials steeped in corruption and a court debased and intimidated, only anxious to purchase a respite from the strangers clamouring within its gates. At both courts the influence of Russia is predominant, and she appears as the protector of the dynasty. In both countries the purse is as powerful as the sword. To extend the simile a little, both in the Middle and the Far East we have the same two great rival Powers; incited by the success of Russia, Germany is agitating, pushing, struggling for a firmer foothold. In both Great Britain, with really predominant interests, is attempting to defend these more or less passively, constantly protesting, frequently yielding, and trying to maintain her position by turning first to Russia and then to Germany for support. Our ally Japan supports us in the Far East only. In the Persian Gulf we see precisely the same symptoms which preceded the Russian *début* on the Manchurian littoral; and, just as the events in the Gulf of Pechili and its *hinterland*, remote as they seem to be from India, will affect the questions concerning her north-eastern frontier, so the development in the Persian Gulf must be of paramount importance in deciding her north-western frontier policy.

To turn now to the Far East. There are two points of view from which we may profitably regard the situation in China. The first is that of her own internal condition, and the second that of the safe-guarding of British interests. Neither, it must be confessed, affords a pleasing spectacle.

There are people who still cherish the belief that the break-up of China, so long foretold, has been averted; and that, learning wisdom ere it is too late, she is actually initiating reform. They base this belief chiefly on the recent promulgation of Imperial edicts regarding education, the institution of 'schools of Western learning,' and



the creation of 'provincial colleges,' and also on the 'change of heart' of the Empress-Dowager and her effusive friendliness to European ladies of legations, tourists, and missionaries. That none of those to whom she has extended the hand of friendship have any reluctance in grasping that hand, red with the blood not only of foreigners, but of millions of her innocent subjects, is a curious reflection on Western civilisation, and one that has aroused considerable attention not only in China itself, but in Russia. The astute Chinaman, who holds it as a cardinal point that the Empress 'never forgets and never forgives,' wants to know whether we are fools or hypocrites when we receive her protestations so cordially.

Reform based on Imperial edicts and the goodwill of the Empress-Dowager is a farce; nor is there any element in the government from which salvation can reasonably be expected. Officialdom in China is now more corrupt than ever; and it is believed by many that the mandarins, seeing the writing on the wall, are simply feathering their nests as expeditiously as possible before the end comes. Meanwhile there is growing discontent in many of the provinces, and rebellion in some; and as the foreigner is credited with being the cause of the oppressions and exactions to which the people are subjected, these disorders may at any time lead to anti-foreign demonstrations. The central provinces have from the outset borne an unjustly large proportion of the indemnity taxation; and, moreover, not half of what is exacted goes to the liquidation of the debt. At this juncture, too, China has lost by death or removal the only officials with any reputation for probity or statesmanship, who undoubtedly prevented the Boxer rising from spreading throughout the empire.

While no real reform is being attempted from the top, there is undoubtedly a growing desire on the part of the Chinese people for more enlightenment; and, although there is no official career open to a Chinaman educated on Western lines, China is showing a desire to benefit from the experience of Japan. It was inevitable that the Japanese, allied in race and near neighbours, should play a part in any movement towards reform in China. Until recent times there was great antagonism between the two countries; and the Chinese despised the Japanese

even more than the barbarians from the West. Since the Japanese war and the Peking affair this feeling has been remarkably modified; and, as a proof, we find Chinese students flocking in large numbers to Japanese colleges, Chinese workmen sent to study in the workshops and arsenals of Japan, educational and other commissions sent from Peking to Tokio, the founding of a Chino-Japanese press, Japanese steamers and launches on Chinese waterways, Japanese foremen in workshops, and professors in colleges, Japanese drill-instructors replacing Germans in the army, and finally the foundation of a powerful body, the 'East Asian League,' to promote good feeling and mutual interests between Chinese and Japanese. This league has apparently escaped notice in the Western press, but it is increasing in numbers and power, and has already a daily paper, edited by a Japanese and published at Peking. On all sides we see signs of the pro-Japanese attitude of Chinese officials, and the general assumption that Japan is China's model and ally. This is the one genuine sign of reform to be seen in China.

As far as British interests in China are concerned, the tale is even less encouraging. The Anglo-German agreement of 1900, which was to 'maintain undiminished' the territorial condition of the Chinese Empire, resulted merely in a declaration on the part of Germany that Manchuria was not included, being 'of no interest' to her; while she obtained indirectly interests in the Yangtze valley which had hitherto been practically a British preserve. Again, the Anglo-Japanese treaty, ostensibly directed to the preservation of Manchuria and Korea, has proved entirely futile as regards the former object. The territorial integrity of China has in fact become a mere *façon de parler*; and, as British interests were strongly concerned with keeping that empire intact and opening it to our trade, we cannot congratulate ourselves on the success of our diplomacy. The Mackay treaty, by which the word *likin* was to be 'abolished from the Chinese vocabulary,' has proved abortive, and is now not even alluded to.

Nowhere has the transformation of Asia been more complete and startling than in the northern part of the Chinese Empire. Russia has absorbed Manchuria with a thoroughness which is no longer denied. Mr Wirt

Gerrare, who was forced to travel through Manchuria in disguise because, although Americans and people of every other nationality are admitted, Englishmen are rigidly excluded, gives the following description of a city in the heart of that erstwhile Manchu country. Mr Gerrare's book, it may be noted, where dealing with matters of his own observation, is extremely careful and accurate. At Kharbin, he says,

'was a Chinese citadel and town destroyed by the Russians. . . . It has grown into quite an extensive Russian town, the commandant and chief army officers being quartered there. It possesses a meteorological observatory, and has a Russian church. . . . There are several promenades. A large public garden, with open-air theatre, kiosks, bandstand, and the usual appurtenances of a Siberian pleasure resort, appears once to have been the private grounds of a monastery or seminary. . . . In old Kharbin there are two hotels . . . several restaurants, and many stores of Russian and other merchants, but no Chinese. . . . If any doubt the reality of the Russian occupation of Manchuria, a knowledge of Kharbin will convince them that the hold the Russians have upon the country is thorough, and to all appearances must be permanent. Kharbin is not cosmopolitan as Alexandria is, still less is it Chinese; it is Siberian.'

It is inevitable that British trade will suffer under Russian rule. Mr Gerrare points out, as others have done, that Russian trade will be favoured by carrying Russian goods at a preferential tariff, and by admitting them duty-free into Chinese territory through the Russian port of Dalny, by which means the Chinese Customs are cheated. Russia has even insisted on controlling the treaty port of Newchwang, as though it were a part of her own territory. The Customs receipts of a treaty port, where there is no Russian trade or shipping, are paid into the Russo-Chinese bank, and will doubtless be held to reimburse her for her alleged expenditure in protecting and administering Newchwang. Moreover, although British, American, and Japanese trade amounts to several million sterling a year, Sir Robert Hart has appointed a Russian as Commissioner of Customs.

This brings us to the question of the Imperial Chinese Customs, the one really substantial asset which China possesses, and one over which, by reason of her pre-

dominating trade interests, this country has always expected to have a strong hold. The service has, for some years past, been becoming gradually more disorganised. Serious discontent exists among the *personnel* owing to the depreciation of their salaries since the decline in silver, the failure to maintain the issue of retiring allowances under conditions hitherto observed, and the withdrawal of large sums from the service funds to meet the expenditure on the inland postal service. Most serious of all, the position of Sir Robert Hart is not only becoming less secure, but a notable change is taking place in the selection of the *personnel* of the service, which is recruited in decreasing numbers from British subjects; so that already the number is out of proportion with that of trade interests. There has not been a single Englishman attached to the Inspectorate at Peking during the past year; and there is an intrigue afoot to replace Sir Robert Hart by a board of control, or by a Belgian inspector-general. The Chinese already repudiate the engagement they made that, while British trade predominated, the Imperial Customs should be under a British head.

In the transformation of Asia one cannot but be struck by the change which has come over the policy of this country of late years as regards the Far East. It seems as though we are loosening our hold of that which we formerly strove so hard to grasp, and are no longer prepared to make a stand for anything which does not involve direct territorial loss to ourselves. On the other hand, the general Asiatic situation is dominated by one powerful factor. That factor is the expansion of Russia, already one of the largest empires of the world, and rapidly expanding in bulk. Russia may be well compared to a huge octopus, whose arms stretch out across Asia to the Pacific, to the heart of China, to Afghanistan, and (tentatively) across Persia to the Indian Ocean. From Baltic to Pacific, from the Arctic regions to torrid Persia—such is the extent of her territory, which comprises one sixth of the land surface of the globe, all, it must be remembered, contiguous, and containing the greatest variety of races and languages, which make up one fourteenth of the population of the world.

While her expansion goes on steadily, while she pursues apparently unchecked a course of diplomacy which

is peculiarly successful, it is still no secret that many dis-integrating forces are at work at the heart of the empire. No study of the recent changes in Asia would be complete without a glance at the internal condition of the empire which rules half Asia from St Petersburg.

It is peculiarly difficult for a foreigner to gauge accurately the internal condition of Russia. The accounts given by European travellers like Mr Norman are singularly unsatisfactory. That author declares that 'Russia revolves as smoothly as a well-welded fly-wheel,' and on the other hand says that

'poverty and illiteracy naturally go hand in hand. In no other great country of the world is poverty—monotonous, resigned poverty—to so great an extent a national characteristic of the people' ('All the Russias,' p. 42).

We have this same contrast wherever we turn. Russia, whose bankruptcy has been predicted for years, not only spends lavishly on railways and public works in her remote territories, but is always ready to take up financial burdens in connexion with banking or other enterprises in Manchuria or Persia. In the twentieth century, when humanitarian principles have become as much a part of civilisation as a knowledge of reading and writing, it is difficult to reconcile Russia's greatness, her success in expansion, and the position she holds as a world-power, with a condition of 'poverty and illiteracy' among her people—not, be it noted, in some newly acquired territory, but in the heart of the empire itself. Prince Kropotkin, writing in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' maintains that the distrust of natural sciences and of Western democratic ideas, the desire to make university and even secondary education a privilege of the wealthy, the neglect of primary education, the suppression of all efforts to spread knowledge among the illiterate, are the distinctive features of Russian educational policy during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century.

The chief characteristic of Russian government is centralisation; and to make this more complete has been the chief aim of the government during the reigns of the present emperor and his father. It is well to look at this from the Russian official point of view. In 'La

Russie à la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle,' a volume edited by M. Kovalevski, we find the following :—

'Ce n'est qu'à l'aide d'un puissant mécanisme administratif qu'il fut possible de créer et de reserrer les liens unissant et rattachant les uns aux autres les peuples de races et de langues différentes, constituant cet immense empire; aussi depuis la période muscovite, l'idée de la centralisation administrative a-t-elle été poursuivie avec une inébranlable persévérance. Grâce à la politique des grands-ducs muscovites, le pays fut unifié bien qu'ouvert sur toutes ses frontières et subissant, durant de longs siècles, l'invasion de tous les peuples; ce pays n'a pas pu défendre et conserver son indépendance qu'en remettant toutes ses forces entre les mains d'un seul. La longue lutte soutenue tour à tour contre l'Occident et contre l'Orient, qui semblaient disputer la plaine qui les sépare, accéléra la concentration de pouvoir. Et ceci est un des phénomènes les plus caractéristiques de l'histoire de la Russie.'

When one remembers the diversity of conditions, races, languages, and religions with which this central government has to deal, one may well wonder, with Mr Norman, at the well regulated outward appearance, the smoothly working wheels of official life. But every now and then even the man in the street, who cares little for Russian internal affairs, is struck with horror or compassion as he reads of a Kishineff massacre, or the pathetic and dignified appeal of prominent Finlanders against a tyranny they are powerless to oppose, or the story of starving peasants driven to extremities but unable, because of legal restrictions, to leave their famine-stricken districts.

There is one test of a civilised country which is now universally recognised. Religious freedom is held to be essential to national greatness. Let us see briefly what this means in all the Russias. The governing class, drawn from inner Russia, belongs, of course, to the strict orthodox Greek Church. The Baltic provinces are Lutheran, Finland is Protestant, the south-western provinces contain a large proportion of Roman Catholics and Jews; in the Crimea and on the middle Volga are Tartar Mohammedans; in the Caucasus is a perfect babel of languages and consequently of creeds. Religious tolerance, initiated by the reforming Tsar, Alexander II, is one of the tenets of government, and is nominally in



force all over the empire. At the same time we have the authority of Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, who certainly cannot be accused of Russophobia, for the statement that orthodoxy, nationality, and autocracy—the systematic spreading of the religion, language, and administrative functions of the dominant race—are the great aims of the present government. It may well be argued that these are only wise methods for unifying the heterogeneous empire; but, taken in conjunction with the persecution of Jews and the abrogation of Finnish constitutional rights, it must be allowed that the unification of Russia is costing her people dear.

In Russia everything is done from the top. Private initiative is suppressed, just as individual rights are ignored. After the Crimean war, which revealed many *lacunæ* in local government, Alexander II created the bodies known as *zemstvos*, whose position was afterwards modified by Alexander III. As there is some misconception as to the extent and functions of the *zemstvos*, a short description of them may be useful. They are simply rural municipal bodies—which, it should be mentioned, exist only in inner Russia—elected by the people from candidates selected by the governor. Their functions and powers are limited, and concern only such matters as sanitation, roads, and fire-brigades; and they are absolutely under the governor (appointed, of course, from Petersburg), who can at any time veto their propositions. Similar restrictions have been applied to the so-called self-governing municipalities and to the communal peasant governments, so that at the present day representative government is denied in any form to the people, whose one elective body, the *zemstvo*, is not freely elected, and has neither administrative nor legislative power. The *zemstvos* and the municipalities, however, excluded as they are from any control, have the privilege of supporting the great bulk of the schools: they supply the school-houses and current expenses.

The reactionary tendency is allowed by the most friendly critics to have been particularly strong in the present reign. M. de Witte and M. de Plehve, the principal initiators of this policy, are of the opinion that it is the only way to tie the unwieldy empire together. Local autonomy, individual rights, freedom of speech



and of the press, would break up that autocracy upon which the salvation of Russia depends. In a word, the empire must be fastened together with chains of steel. The recent manifesto of the Emperor, which was taken in this country as the beginning of an era of 'sweetness and light' for the 'other half' in Russia, has been definitely proved, by people who were not dependent on a Reuter interpretation of its ambiguous language, to mean about as much as the Imperial edicts of the Dowager-Empress of China.\* The 'Moscow Viedomosti,' says the 'Times' correspondent (who has since been ejected from Petersburg), proves by quotations from the manifesto that the Emperor is resolved to maintain in their entirety the principles of absolute monarchy and the orthodox church; it says that the words of the manifesto put a definite end to the illusion that local elements were to obtain more freedom. In a word, the Emperor may be likened to Rehoboam, who said to his people, 'Whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke; my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.' It need hardly be said that the Emperor, whose humanitarian aspirations are well known, has been convinced by his advisers that this is the course which in the long run will prove of most service to the empire. The question which every thoughtful man must ask himself is, How long can this government by a small minority last?

A curious outcome of this centralisation and bureaucratic government is the fostering of socialist tendencies. Even the state itself leans towards socialism by interfering with industry and wages, and by its monopolisation of such works as railways and other communications, of forests and domains, mines, fisheries, and many other departments, among which the most important is the spirit monopoly. The Russian peasant, realising the futility of individual effort, forms an *artel*, or association; and every department of labour is made up from these organisations.

The social fabric in Russia has been, until recently, of simple composition. The nobility, owners of the soil, stood absolutely apart. Their only career was that of

---

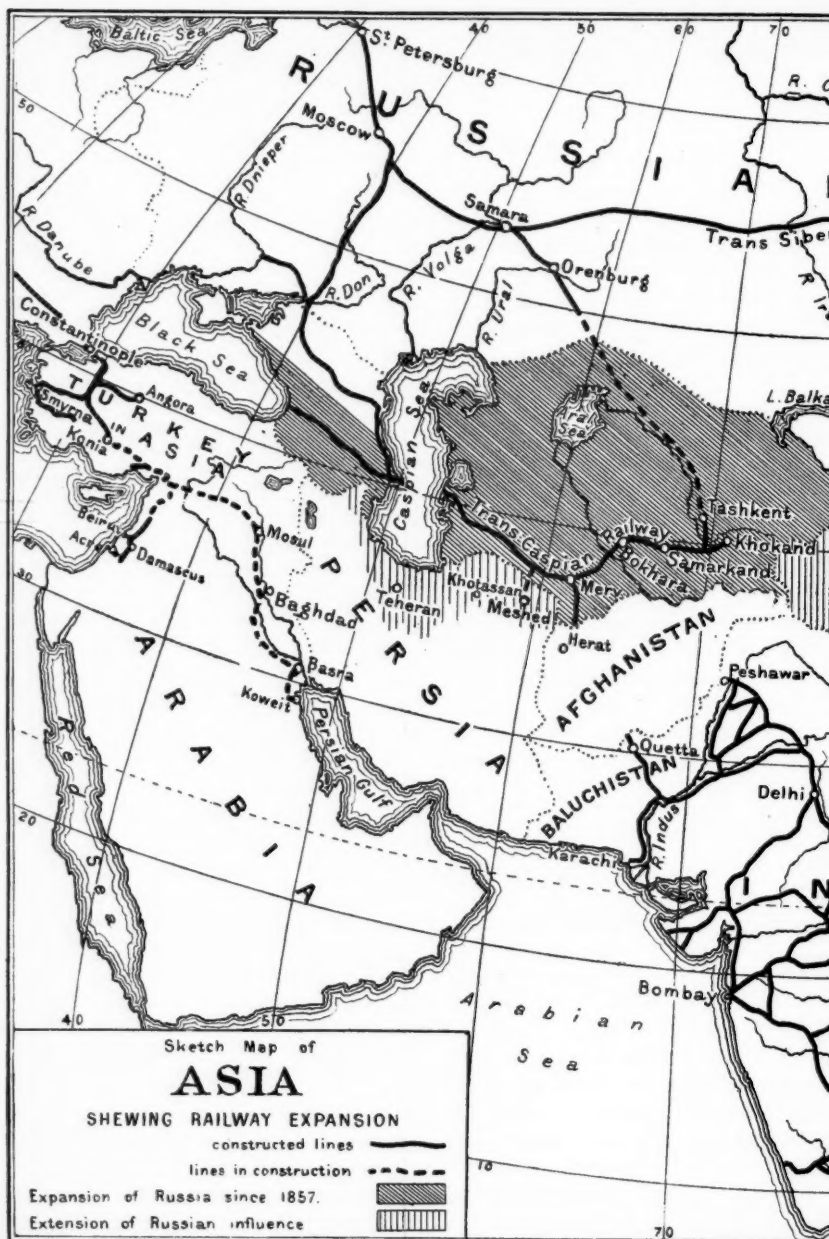
\* See an article in the 'Fortnightly Review' (June 1903), by E. C. Long.

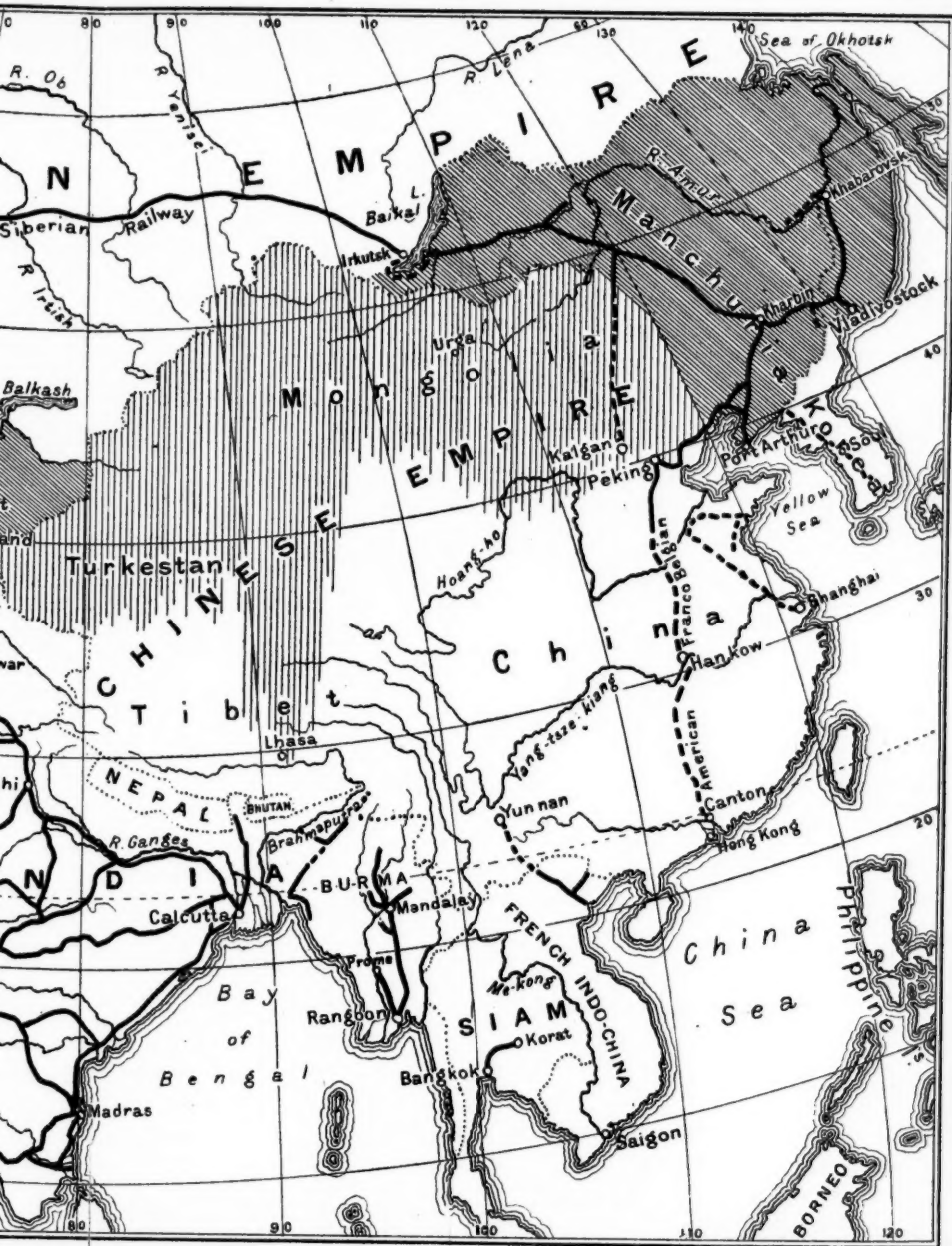
arms, and their power as a class was paramount. The peasantry were, and still are, as low in the scale of civilisation as is possible in Europe. Ignorant, illiterate, without hope or ambition, they have risen very little since their liberation from serfdom. Between the extremes comes a small middle class, from which the universities are recruited. The growth of industrialism and the consequent increase in urban population has not only enlarged this class but has created another, a proletariat composed of workers who, intellectually, are considerably more advanced than the agricultural class. They meet workmen from other countries learn the meaning of organisation, and realise their position. All, it may be said, are socialists, not unconsciously, like the peasants, but with full consciousness; and they hold the tenets of socialism in the extremest form. The official class is drawn from every rank, and a man of ability may rise, as M. de Witte has done, from obscurity to the highest position, but only, as a rule, by exhibiting *in excelsis* those qualities which make a good official from the Russian standpoint.

It is obvious that, with a system specially calculated to stamp out individualism and to exalt the official, who in his turn is absolutely dependent on Petersburg, much must depend on the character of the men who are sent to govern the far-off dependencies. We send our best to our dependencies; Germany made a careful selection of officials for the government of Alsace-Lorraine; but Russia only sends her worst to eastern Siberia or Central Asia; and the officials themselves regard their life as banishment, which must be compensated by making as much money as possible during its duration. The colonists sent out are not at all the class of men who have made Canada or Australia; and it is difficult to foresee their future were the strong arm of the central government, on which they depend for everything, withdrawn. In such circumstances the actual Russianising of the conquered territories cannot be satisfactory. The people are quelled; in many cases, as in the Khanates, they are better off under Russian rule, and know it; but they retain their own nationality, and will continue to do so. The Russianising efforts have failed nearer to the heart of the empire, so that it cannot be

The  
ivil-  
ate,  
ittle  
the  
the  
ism  
not  
pro-  
are  
ural  
ries  
heir  
con-  
ess;  
nest  
and  
rom  
by  
ood

ted  
cial,  
rg,  
who  
end  
re-  
ace-  
ern  
ves  
en-  
its  
lass  
t is  
of  
ry-  
ual  
tis-  
in  
and  
will  
led  
be





exp  
thi  
Ru  
tor  
not  
ton  
tyr  
ma  
vio  
Chi  
and  
sus  
int

Ru  
dra  
alo  
bec  
the  
Eu  
clo  
wis  
is  
me  
of  
the  
bu  
the  
me  
the  
str  
tim  
rai  
pie  
na  
it

expected that they will be successful in Asia. Despite this fact there are several circumstances that make Russia's dominion in Asia secure. In the Chinese territory she has to deal with people who care little or nothing about the personality of their rulers. Accustomed for centuries to submit tamely to a Manchu tyranny, it is a trifling thing to them to change their masters, so long as their traditions and customs are unviolated, and they have ample scope for trading. A Chinese rising against Russia is exceedingly unlikely, and a Central Asian rebellion still less so. In the Caucasus there is too wild and confused a medley of races and interests to make any organised resistance possible.

Notwithstanding these strong points in her position, Russia is face to face with a severe test. The policy of dragooning an empire—of governing with the mailed fist alone, by means of an official horde whose demands become greater every year—this cannot long withstand the shock of contact with civilising tendencies. Both in Europe and Asia retrogressive Russia is brought into close relations with progressive nations; and while the wiser spirits disclaim all desire for violent reforms, there is a rapidly growing body which demands moderate measures to secure equal rights and justice for all ranks of the community. These men are no longer confined to the university circles, which could be punished at will, but are found among leading land-holders, who express themselves openly, but are not touched by the government. When they join hands with the proletariat—as they probably will—the body of opinion will prove too strong to be ignored or explained away; and, when that time comes, we shall see whether the colossal empire, raised by the efforts of a mighty bureaucracy, will fall to pieces with the bureaucracy itself, or whether the Russian national ideal is sufficiently strong in every part to hold it together.

A. R. COLQUHOUN.



## Art. VIII.—SIENA.

1. *A History of Siena*. By Langton Douglas. London: Murray, 1902.
2. *Our Lady of August, and the Palio of Siena*. By William Heywood. Siena: Torrini, 1899.
3. *The 'Ensamples' of Fra Filippo; a study of Mediæval Siena*. By William Heywood. Siena: Torrini, 1901.
4. *A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena*. By William Heywood. Siena: Torrini, 1902.

IF good old books were not forgotten, there would be little need for new ones; and the trade of some modern authors would be in a bad way. In 1846 Captain Napier published, in his '*History of Florence*,' a monument of sound and well considered work, which, though difficult to procure, is still procurable. Seeing that students of Tuscan history know its worth, and historical scholars—Professor Villari among them—have testified to its permanent merits, it would be going too far to say that it has not been read. Certainly, however, it is unknown to the class which would be all the better for it—that unending procession of tourists who, fortified by Mr Ruskin's smallest book and George Eliot's worst, attack the Grand Duchy at the capital, crowd Savonarola's cell in San Marco, and the site of Giotto's frescoes in Santa Croce, and thereafter take the train to Siena with no better laid preparation than a glance at Baedeker.

A still more flagrant case is furnished by the fate of Professor Villari's '*First Centuries of Florentine History*,' than which a more lucid exposition of a subject full of obscurity was never penned by man. It is the last word upon the character and growth of the Florentine state, the wisest and the shrewdest word. Its two volumes are to be had in admirable translation and convenient form. *Habent sua fata!* they are unread. Dealing exhaustively and incisively with the birth, the enlargement, the aims, necessities, and ambitions of Florence; showing how inevitable was her final dominion over her sister nations; having Dante ever in view, so that the reader can perceive not only how much the poet was of his time and race, and in how far he transcended it, but just why he failed of his hopes and just where his enemies saved

the state—if the tourist wishes to understand why Florence prevailed, it is all here; if he wishes to relate his poet to his city, here he has the clue. But no; he wishes nothing of the sort, and cares for none of these things. It is for emotions he comes; and having none of his own, nor means of evoking them, he must buy them ready-made. 'Mornings in Florence,' taking for granted the very things which Professor Villari is at pains to set forth, or such a well arranged catalogue as the late Mr Grant Allen's, taking nothing for granted, but frankly offering emotional sandwiches in the public marts—these are the staple of tourist diet. Captain Napier and Professor Villari, too busy or too much in earnest for such traffic, share the retirement of Von Reumont's 'Lorenzo de' Medici,' and Dennis's 'Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria,' and are to be found darkling in the shelves of the judicious, and only there. Not a bookseller in the Tornabuoni will expose them in his windows.

But while Florence—with a history behind her which comprehends that of all the neighbouring communes she absorbed, and one, moreover, which rises from mere local narrative to a definite place in that of Europe—has been well served by her historians, and very ill by her guests, who will not read them, here comes Professor Langton Douglas to champion Siena—whose history is quite without significance—and confidently appeals to a large public. Assuredly, also, he will have his reward. By the side of his gay green cover—with Siena *en vignette* in the midst—his abundant photographs and easy print, the squat little volumes of Captain Napier look as withered as dry Bohns; after his light and savoury *hors d'œuvres*, to settle down (if we may so put it) to the plain roast and boiled of Professor Villari's providing, is to demand an effort of digestion which no tourist, bored or to be bored, will attempt. History made easy for travellers made comfortable is in the nature of the case; but here is an added luxury not hitherto essayed by English historians: local history taken out of its hodden grey and robed in the mantle and invested with the scroll of Clio. 'Paulo majora canamus' is a respectable aspiration; and no one will quarrel with Professor Douglas for breathing it before he wrote. But the book is large, the matter something small. We shall urge him to pursue the

eclogue before he attempts the study of, say, Pisa on this scale. 'Si canimus silvas, silvæ sint consule dignæ.'

For we shall repeat that of history in the proper sense, of significant, correlated history, Siena has none whatever. Being what she is, one of the myriad nations of Tuscany—among which are to be numbered the Samminiatesi, the Pratesi, the Settignanesi, and the Corbignanesi, the inhabitants, in fine, of every little white-walled village on every little olive-blurred hill—such being her existence, she has a biography, if one could by pains get at it, which is the sum of her character and environment. The things which stir the pulse of every sojourner in her solitudes—the blend of the tragic and the trivial, her grandiose building, her lovely and frivolous people, her mystical art, the memories of her saints, the fragrance of their names—are worthy to be felt; proper objects of enquiry for the archæologist, and not to be lost sight of by the historian who shall build with his bricks. More than these she has not to give, and could not have had.

Born, as every other Tuscan nation was, of a Frankish graft upon an Etruscan stock, she endured, with every other, the same phases of development, and shared, with every other but one, the same unavoidable fate. Whether Bishop or Gastaldo was the nucleus round which the little body-politic was formed, matters hardly anything to the traveller in her quiet and shadowed streets. Suffice it that we find a commune in the twelfth century which is at war with Florence in 1141. Wars—if raids and counter-raids can be so called—with the feudal chiefs of the hills absorb a century; slowly the commune is too many for the mountain-thieves, Aldobrandeschi of Monte Amiata, Pannocchieschi of that dreary Volterranean country, brigand-haunted now as then: one does not need their names. Florence went through the same courses with her Uberti and Alberti, driven to them by the same needs. What Tuscan state did not?

Before a quarter of the thirteenth century had gone by, the last of her neighbours fell in to Siena. In 1235 or so the government of the Ventiquattro was established under Provenzano Salvani, greatest of the Sienese, and Bonaguida Lucari, one of the most pious. The Ghibellines of Florence, chased from their own city, became guests and allies. In 1260 was fought the red field of Montaperti,

by virtue of which crowning mercy for four or five years Florence virtually lay at the feet of Siena, and was only saved from lying literally so by the daring and patriotism of Farinata degli Uberti. Every reader of Dante has pictured the great scene at the Congress of Empoli: all the little savage states yapping and snarling at beaten Florence, and Farinata, 'with his face gravely perturbed,' confronting them. They yapped and snarled, but they did no more. Followed three terrible years, each with its smashing blow, for Siena and the Ghibellines—Benevento in 1266, which sapped their prosperity; Tagliacozzo in 1268 which made a breach in their walls; Colle in 1269. The capture, the death, the shameful fate of Provenzano Salvani made it out of the question that Siena could ever be more than a provincial town. Except for the last struggle, when she was brought into the vortex set swirling by Cæsar Borgia, and went down in it, the relations of Siena with history cease in 1269.

Feuds, vendettas, faction-fights, which count for so much in all Tuscan story, make up the rest of Siena's. They were never so paralysing as the Florentine or Aretine, nor pursued to such ravenous lengths as the Pisan, nor spread so widely as the Pistoiese; in fact, they were confined to two families, and made little or no stir outside the *contado*. The Salimbeni and Tolemei were protagonists in the little melodrama, which began about 1315 and did not stop until Duke Cosimo de' Medici stopped all; but once more they are without significance either to history or to the tracery of local politics. The story of government ran the usual Tuscan courses. The Twenty-four went down after Tagliacozzo. It had been a temperately compounded oligarchy, half feudal, half mercantile. The Nine, who followed them, were frankly *bourgeois*, with money to lend and bills to discount: the plague killed them, and the Twelve reigned in their stead, a government of small tradesmen. Theirs was the day of the Condottieri—free-riding, free-booting gentry, 'Enemies of God,' 'Companions of the Hat,' Companies of St George, White Companies—Hawkwood and the likes of Hawkwood, petty raiders, making way for greater men of larger ideas—Castruccio, Sforza, Piccinino, Montefeltro. Such a government, bolstered by such buttresses, could not last, and did not. In 1368 the remnants of the old

factions arose, carried the Palace by assault, and made opportunity for the artisans. There were great days for the *popol minuto* in 1371 or thereabouts; days for the 'Company of the Grub' and their redoubtable leader, one Domenico, an old-clothesman with a very Sienese knack of piety and murder.

But why pursue the tale, which has been that of every town in Tuscany, and is exemplified once and for all in that of Florence? Upon the shoulders of the Riformatori of Siena, just as surely as Cosimo 'Pater Patriae' upon those of the Ciompi and their sequels, climbed one Pandolfo Petrucci to the tyrant's chair, and might have held it but for two things: the Visconti-Valois marriage was at last to have its reward, Europe was to be let into Italy—this, and the fact that Pandolfo had no descendants worth a rush. Professor Douglas, by the way, thinks meanly of Pandolfo; Machiavelli thought highly of him, and Professor Villari is of the same opinion. Students of the man and his times will take their choice of sides, remembering, however, that Machiavelli had a hand in most of the rubbers he describes. Pandolfo Petrucci had to contend with Cæsar Borgia at long odds. Against the papal battalions what had he but the name of the King of France? It may fairly be said that he made a match of it. He outlived Pope Alexander, saw one of his sons made cardinal by Pope Julius, and died leaving his tyranny intact to the worthless bully, his son Borghese. If this Borghese had used his inheritance as Cosimo Primo used his when he got it, there might have been a possible history of Siena. But he was worse than Piero de' Medici in this at least, that he could not beget a Lorenzo.

The Petrucci dynasty, so to call it, came to an end in 1524; and thenceforward the end of Siena as a state was only a matter of years. The Emperor Charles marched in in 1526, and his Spaniards were expelled in 1536; but in 1553 Don Garcia brought them back, and in spite of Piero Strozzi—a futile, explosive Florentine outlaw—in spite of the matchless Monluc, in spite of the noble lady Livia Fausta and her company of Amazons, in spite of Brandano, in spite of Madonna—in 1555 that brave Monluc walked out and Marignano walked in. Two years later Siena was handed over to Duke Cosimo. First Tuscan state to be marked out by Florence for conquest,

she was the last to fall. Why she was so marked, and why she was doomed to fall, are questions which belong not to Sieneſe history, but to Florentine, to European history.

Now, out of this and ſuch familiar excuſions as it may afford him, Profeſſor Douglas has compiled his ‘History of Siena’; and while commending, as we cheerfully do, his induſtry, accuracy, and general level of attainment, we cannot forbear the objection that, with ſo little ſtory to tell, this grand apparatus is otioſe. It is alſo fair to complain that the chapters which deal with the tale ſketched above are ſuperficial and what is called ‘popular’ in treatment. Our view, in ſhort, is that the book is either too big or too ſmall. Of archæology, of lore, of humours, the lover of Siena and the Sieneſe can never have enough. Very properly and very naturally, nearly all the vernacular literature of the place is concerned with that. Siena has been better ſerved by the writers of brochures, *mémoires pour ſervir, memorie per nozzi*, and the like, than Florence herſelf. It is true, as the Profeſſor points out, that there are no modern hiſtorians of Siena; but how ſhould there be hiſtorians where there is no hiſtory? Here, however, we have no dilettante’s brochure, but ‘A History of Siena’ in 476 pages.

The reſult of a candid reading of the work is a ſenſe of diſproportion of a ſingular kind: there ſeems undue tenuity in one part, exceſſive fullneſs in another. The omiſſions—for which there is no excuſe—are extraordinary. St Catherine has a chapter, but St Bernardino, one of the wittieſt Tuscans and quite the wittieſt ſaint ever caught up into the clouds, has two pages and a half. Where is the Madonna di Provenzano, hollow-eyed, armleſs goდეſs of three centuries’ devotion? One can hardly mention the name of Siena and not call up her woeful face. Once upon a time ſhe was a Mater Dolorosa, ſeated—and unviſited—in her affliction over the lintel of a mean houſe in Provenzano, her dead ſon upon her knees. The Spaniards ſhot away her arms and their burden, and chivalrous Siena adored her from that hour. Now ſhe is to be ſeen in terra-cotta in every little ſhop window; but Profeſſor Douglas knows her not. He ſays what he has to ſay of the Palio of Auguſt in a ſentence:



Mr Heywood, the other of our authors, gives it easily a volume. The Professor does not realise that more matter of interest hangs upon that revel of the dog-days than upon all the politics and art and ceramics put together. For the visitor who dares the brawling multitude, the dust, the flies, the blare of flags, and sees those hardy little horses fight their way about the burning field, may uncover, as it were, the two quick spots left in the body of Siena; the first is devotion to Madonna, the second the rivalry of the *contrade*. The second, rightly touched, will reveal to him the substantial nature of the place; but from the first he may still win his way deep into its wild heart.

The prime cause of our dissatisfaction with Professor Douglas is this, in fact, that in his account of Siena he has left out the Sieneſe. Difficult as they may be to know, at once 'coming on' and 'holding off,' loving not, as we once heard it put by one of themselves, 'a fly on the nose,' they ſtill are in very truth what they have always been from the days of Fazio degli Uberti, from thoſe of Dante, until now. They, and they only, have made Siena what it is—these crack-brained Pier Pettiguanos, Alberos, Sapias, and the reſt; the beautiful, ſalient, flushed hill-city is in reality the vesture of their ſpirit. Tragic, futile, dauntleſs, ardent, amorous, unhappy, La Pia ſtands before time as the emblem of her nation, hiſtorically true, 'Sienà mi fè, diſfecemi Maremma.'

What was ſaid of the Celts by a Celt, 'They went forth to war, but they always fell,' is over-true of Siena and her high-blooded people. They loſt, as we have ſeen they muſt, in the long tuſſle with Florence; they dedicated themſelves to their Miſtreſs, and were four times heard, but ſhe forſook them at the fifth, in their hour of utmoſt extremity. They conquered the ſea-board but never won to the ſea; they began the moſt ſtupendous church in Italy but finiſhed not more than one quarter of it. Their one great artiſt—Michael Angelo's maſter—made for them his greateſt work, the Fonte Gaja; but they broke it, or ſuffered it to be broken, and one muſt go to Lucca or Bologna to ſtudy Della Quercia of Siena. Their painting, if we are to credit Profeſſor Douglas, began upon a ſcale of glory unattainable by Giotto; it dwindled off into a ſchool of trite copyiſts and



shallow chiaroscurists, betrayed by Pintoricchio, the driest of the Umbrians, and Sodoma, the emptiest scholar Leonardo ever tried to fill. For grace and beauty (as of panthers) the Sienese women have been famous, and are famous. Quick and proud, high-spirited and vivacious, they are inconstant lovers, and in the old days they were even so. They fought like Lapiths on the walls when Marignano and his Spaniards held that last grim leaguer for a year and a half; but when the capitulation was signed they threw themselves into their enemies' arms, and welcomed the killers of their kin with carpets in the windows and flowers for their feet.

‘Or fù giammai  
Gente sì vana come la sanese?’

cries the keen, great Florentine, scorning this chivalrous, feather-headed, mettlesome race. And well he might, being of whom he was. They went forth to war, but they always fell.

Let us turn now to the second part of Professor Douglas's History, and consider in his company the arts and letters of Siena. The single chapter devoted to ‘Literature and Science’ is good measure for a nation which attained no eminence in either. One poet, Cecco Angiolieri—unless Perfetti the *improvvisatore*, whom Monsieur de Brosses admired, is to be reckoned; one novelist, San Bernardino; one humanist, Aeneas Sylvius; one historian, Malavolti; and the tale is told. Professor Douglas gives two bad reasons for the absence of literary faculty and one good one; so good, indeed, that (if it is true) it is impossible to have a better. ‘The Sienese,’ he says, thirdly, ‘were not a literary people.’ ‘Rem acu!’ Can there be a better reason for the absence of literature in a race of men? That the Sienese, as he urges, ‘wasted their energies in political strife,’ is beside the mark; for what else, pray, did every other people in Tuscany? And if political excitement forbade artistic energy, why, upon his own showing, were the painters so active? Had he rather pointed out that literature demands leisure of the heart—which may perfectly subsist in the midst of a whirlwind of politics—and that in Siena there never was any such blessing, we should have had no quarrel with him, for both terms of that proposition are true. Leisure

of heart can always be secured by the poet whose heart insists upon it. Dante had it, though he was seethed in the Florentine ferment, and wandered abroad from bitterness to bitterness. That heart which he gave into the green-eyed lady's keeping in her ninth year he never asked back again.

But the Sienese never had their hearts at rest. Two love affairs at once kept them continually astir, neither of them within the Florentine grasp, and neither of them inductive of literary exercise. The first was chivalry, the meat of the eyes, the second piety, the wine of the soul. These are ardours which involve a splendid strenuousness in pursuit fatal to letters; and they were blended here in a way peculiar to the Sienese among Italian peoples. For the Sienese were militant pietists, and devout chevaliers. Their service of the Virgin was exactly feudal; she was their suzerain, their liege lady. At one time or another every armigerous male in the city must have put his hands between her hands and sworn to be her man. There is room for passion in all this, but none for artistry. If Dante was too great, Petrarch was, in a sense, too small a man to have been a citizen of the Virgin's city. There was not enough freedom from preoccupation either for a humorist like Sacchetti or a miniaturist of Boccaccio's sort. In art and letters, as in most other fine courses, 'tis love that makes the world go round'; and it may be love of God, or country, or a woman. But another love there must be mingled with it—the love of paper and ink. For that kind of love the Sienese had no time to spare.

When we pass to the arts, by which Professor Douglas, with every other dilettantist of our acquaintance, means the plastic arts, and essentially the art of painting, we find his sense of proportion, or rather the absence of any such sense, playing him dismal tricks. He gives one-and-thirty pages to architecture, thirty to sculpture, and no less than ninety to painting. Now, considering that in sculpture the Sienese did contrive to beget a performer of the highest rank in Jacopo della Quercia, an artist the precision, dignity, and severe beauty of whose works have put him on a height which not Donatello's vigour and observation enabled him to reach, and have established him, in our humble opinion, second only to Michael Angelo;

considering that no single painter can be instanced whose work rose above a decorative ability by no means equal, for instance, to that of Crivelli, a mediocre artist in the great school to which he is allied; considering, on the other hand, that the street architecture of Siena, the palace-building, that is, of her great days, can hardly be matched out of Venice, and is quite unapproached by that of Florence—considering these things, it does seem a curious distortion of focus which brings Professor Douglas to see right proportion in a chapter upon Siennese painting half as long again as the two on architecture and sculpture put together.

Our regret is the deeper in that what he does say of architecture is good so far as it goes. His judgment upon the Duomo, that it is nothing akin to French Gothic, but due, rather, to some Pisan designer, is warranted by study. San Galgano, ruin though it be, is sufficient to support him; and he has our hearty agreement when he concludes that the over-wrought and purposeless façade is an imitation, and a bad one, of that of Orvieto. The cathedral church of Siena, indeed, striking object as it is from any neighbouring height, with the square striped shaft of the belfry running up beside it like a spear, and its grey dome a valuable spot of colour in a gaudy *ensemble*, this church, nevertheless, is a feverish, uneasy business, riotous outside and unrestful within. Our author, very appositely, quotes the Grand Duke Francis who, when petitioned to build a *manicomio* in Siena, replied, 'Shut the city gates and you have your madhouse ready-made'; and goes on with equal truth on his own account to say that

'there is something in the Siennese temperament which a keenly practical race like the Florentines naturally enough regarded as a strain of insanity. And this quality manifests itself, I think, in their national temple. The Duomo of Siena seems to me to be the expression of a temperament never quite sane, never quite at harmony with itself, and yet a brave, sympathetic, kindly temperament.'

By sympathetic he probably means *simpatico*, which is not quite the same thing: and it is all quite true. 'Gente si vana come la sanese!'

Let us betake ourselves to the consideration of that school of painting which absorbs ninety of the Professor's

pages upon art. We are bound to say that we think he takes it too seriously. The most enthusiastic visitor to the Belle Arti must needs form two generalisations upon his first inspection, from which we are pretty confident he will have no material reason to depart as his acquaintance with the gallery ripens. The first is that the Sienese, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, painted little but the Madonna, and the second, that they painted her flat. A rocky background here and there, a suggestion of an horizon somewhere, a sky which is neither black nor gold, are not enough to break down the law. It is the fact that Sienese painters were illuminators from first to last—with one exception, to be noted in due time. From Duccio the Byzantine to Taddeo di Bartolo, from Benvenuto di Giovanni, the superb embroiderer, to Matteo and Neroccio, the fantastic, the neurotic, there is but one subject, the 'Sacra Conversazione'; one treatment, the gilder's. Whether with the blue background and diapered crimson curtain of fresco, or the *fondo d'oro* of the altarpiece, the miniaturist method persists; and it is impossible to deny the charm it has, due very much to its cloistral, recollected air, its flavour of the oratory, the very intensity of its limitations, but in no small degree also to its lavish ornament and facial beauty.

It would be difficult to get more magnificent wall-covering than the great devotional fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico, or types of more refined spiritual beauty than those of Benvenuto and Matteo di Giovanni. They are, moreover, essentially national types, than which there are no lovelier in Tuscany. Matteo's Madonna (in a halo of golden straw) walks the Via di Città to this hour, with the same ivory tints, the same doubtful smile. Her green eyes sparkle and peer as ever they did. Half the host of Benvenuto's heaven may be seen in the Campo in those white-hot days of August when the Palio is running. But painting is more than outline and surface ornament; with all due respect to Professor Douglas, there was nothing in Siena of what Giotto, Piero della Francesca, Mantegna, Giorgione understood by the art. It may be a question, when discussing the absolute of the matter, how far any Italian painting whatsoever may stand beside that of the Low Countries; the quarrel is an old one, and 'somewhat musty.' But, like for like, there can be none

at all that where the Florentines pushed up from height to height of mastery over scope and method, the Sienese never rose above a softened and elegant Byzantinism. Fra Angelico himself, the painter of faëry without peer, is a realist when confronted by Sano di Pietro.

For one moment, in the case of one man, there promised to be a break with the old traditions. If the painter of the Allegories in the Palazzo Pubblico—Ambrogio Lorenzetti, despised of the Professor—had been encouraged to pursue his bent, there might have been a Benozzo Gozzoli of Siena, and a Ghirlandajo to come after him. Then could we have had a school of portrait painters to give us Æneas Sylvius and his household, Pandolfo Petrucci and his family; or those noble ladies, the Signora Laodamia Forteguerra, the Signora Livia Fausta, the Signora Piccolomini, as Monluc saw them in their gear of war.

‘Toutes les dames de la ville de Sienne se despartirent en trois bandes. La première estoit conduite par la signora Forteguerra, qui estoit vestue de violet, et toutes celles qui la suivoient aussi, ayant son accoustrement en façon d’une nymphe, court et montrant le brodequin; la seconde estoit la signora Piccollomini, vestue de satin incarnadin, et sa troupe de mesme livrée; la troisieme estoit la signora Livia Fausta, vestue toute de blanc, comme aussi estoit sa suite avec son enseigne blanche.’

A Florentine picture, here, of beauty never afforded by Florentines.

‘Il ne sera jamais, dames siennoises, que je n’immortalise vostre nom, tant que le livre de Monluc vivra; car, à la vérité, vous estes dignes d’immortelle louange, si jamais femmes le feurent.’

But the Sienese, though they had ladies fair and free upon their walls at need, had no man to paint them there. The fashionable critics of the day decry Benozzo and Domenico. ‘Non ragioniam di lor.’ Saving their respect, Benozzo had fancy and Ghirlandajo the eye of a lynx, and both could draw. Tradesmen though they may have been, they knew their trade. The Florentine painters were quick to get out of the pages of the Missal. They could not handle the colour of the Venetians, having

none of it to hand, and seldom the pattern of the Sieneſe; but they did diſcover, with the help of Hugo van der Goes, that this world is a buſy and curious place, and that what men do under the ſun matters more to the artiſt than what may be done with them beyond it.

Chivalrouſly, therefore, as Profeſſor Douglas may lead off his ninety pages by ſaying that ‘painting was pre-eminently the art of the early Sieneſe,’ and that ‘in this art Siena expreſſed herſelf more completely than in any other medium,’ we muſt inſiſt, in the face of the above reflections, in the face of the Palazzo Pubblico and Palazzo Tolomei, in the face of the Fonte Gaja and Guinigi tombs, and the baſ-reliefs at Bologna, that painting was nothing of the kind; that the Sieneſe artiſts were moſt themſelves in houſe-building, and more eminent with the chisel. Their painting was, in truth, a very ſmall matter. The Profeſſor expends many pages in proving that Duccio was better than Cimabue. Both were relatively bad. When he goes on to give him the cry over Giotto, he provokes more ſerious comment. Giotto had a genius which made dead things live. He made men and women out of crumbled earth and ſize; he cut ploughmen and plough-teams, ſheep and goats, ſhepherds and flying horſemen, out of the ſlumbrous rock. His work, where it has remained uncontaminate (as at Padua, as upon the Florentine belfry), is able to ſtand upon its own merits, not to be ſhamed by that of any man, his ſucceſſor.

The ſame aſſertion holds good of Niccolà Piſano. Theſe two were not only forerunners, preparers of ways, ſtepping-ſtones to higher things; they were men of genius once and for all. It is as unſound to ſay that Giotto made Michael Angelo poſſible as it would be to ſuggeſt that but for Shakeſpeare there would have been no John Keats. Duccio may have painted the Rucellai Madonna, or Cimabue may. Duccio’s picture may have been carried in proceſſion, and Cimabue’s may not. The probabilities are that each was ſo carried; for the ceremony was performed, not, as Profeſſor Douglas ſeems to think, in honour of the painter, but in that of the Mother of God. It affords no proof of diſcrimination in the carriers, none of excellence in the carried; neither exalts the horn of the great Duccio, nor abases that of the great Cimabue. We may agree that the former’s ‘Maetà,

in the Opera del Duomo, is a stately piece, with the impressiveness which everything at once big and serious must needs possess. We do not need to compare the metacarpus or measure the finger-nails against some other masterpiece before we can go so far along with the Professor. But to oppose it to great design—as to the Angels at Assisi, or to the science and fire of Giotto—is to exhibit it for what it is. Life in his picture, if he can get it there; character in it, if he has any of his own; design, if he can comprehend that mystery—these are the qualities in an artist which endure; and no amount of grandiose scroll-work, nor *fondo d'oro*, nor gesso-embellishment, nor drawing in the flat, however beautiful, nor painting over gold, however fine, will prevail for one moment against them.

Mr Heywood, three of whose books upon the city of his adoption complete our list, writes gaily, learnedly, and well. Scholar by temper and Italian by predilection, he is archæologist rather than historian, one of those patient, insatiable hunters of the fact with whom the schools and studios of Italy have been filled from Muratori's day to our own, and whose labours, at the proper time and in the proper hands, will be the groundwork of the history some day to be written. Of that history, it need not be repeated, Siena's will form a very small part. Mr Heywood, having a sane eye for proportion and the saving sense of humour, knows that very well. He knows the size of his field and the worth of what it may grow; he has tilled it scientifically and extracted the last inch of its yield. This further praise is his due, that through all his raking in the rubbish-heaps of the Archivio he has never lost sight of the fact that the Sienese are the greatest treasure of Siena and have always been so. His excursus upon the *Assempri*—Ensamples, Moral Tales—of Fra Filippo of Lecceto is devoted to this theme: what manner of men and women were they who built this proud city and adorned it, who earned the scorn of Dante, and the wrath of the Emperor Charles, and the praises of Monsieur Blaise de Monluc?

Far and wide as he wanders—and it may be owned that his liberal citations of passages, on things in general, from Mr Lecky's earlier works, from Buckle, Dean



Milman, and Monsieur de Montesquieu, would have been more suitably left in his commonplace book—he never loses sight of the cardinal truth that the *Assempri* of Fra Filippo, his demonology and astrology and edifying conclusions, are nothing in themselves, neither better nor worse than half a hundred of such compilations—but all in all in their illustration. Genuine collector that he is, he has ‘Grangerised’ Fra Filippo. The range of his reading, the fertility of his imagination are alike admirable; he has both the quickening power and the instinct to quicken. He can make the dead live by recording, by never failing to record, the little things whereby alone we can see them as they lived once. Nor is he afraid of a good story because it is an old one. Provenzano Salvani goes begging in the Campo; Farinata towers in the council; Monna Sapia looks out of the window and cries to God, ‘Omai più non ti temo’; La Pia wrings her hands. If the Emperor Charles IV had come in his way—as he came in Professor Douglas’s way, but in vain—to be sure we should have seen him whittling his willow-wand and prying about and about, as Matteo Villani showed him to us first. Such glimpses are the breath of history.

But Mr Heywood has descriptive talent of his own, and is on fire to use it. Let a single example of his method and his powers suffice. He quotes Fra Filippo’s grim tale of the death of that Giovagnuolo, monster of cruelty, who was lieutenant and minister of infamy to the Aldobrandeschi of Santa Fiora, and adorns it after his manner with anecdote and reflection. Giovagnuolo and his devilries—for which the devil requited him at last—are not out of the common; but the Counts of Santa Fiora, his masters, loom large in any story of the place; magnificent robbers, who owned all the wastes about Monte Amiata and persecuted the commune of Siena for a century. Professor Douglas, of course, does not omit them; his account is good, so far as it goes, perfectly accurate and perfectly wooden. But in Mr Heywood’s discursive page, here is the place—Santa Fiora, armed to the teeth; and here are the memories:—

‘... Of all fair places in this fair Tuscany there are few lovelier than Santa Fiora, and none, I think, which bring home more clearly to the mind the violent days of old. A great gateway gives access to a bare entrance hall which

echoes to your tread as you pass through it into the oblong piazza which lies before the palace of the Counts. And, as Professor Barzellotti remarks, this impossibility of entering the village without passing through the old baronial halls impresses the imagination at the outset with the idea of a great feudal family dominating the life of the place. It is true that of the strong castle of the Aldobrandeschi nothing remains to-day, except, possibly, an old square tower, black and time-worn, and a massive spur of masonry, pierced with loopholes which give light to the cellars of its modern owners, and through which, perhaps—who knows?—that brave knight and gallant horseman, Misser Ghinozzo of the lords of Sassoforte, looked his last upon the sunlight ere yet “he died in prison by reason of his little eating.”

‘Indeed the modern palace cannot be older than the second half of the seventeenth century, when the Cesarini of Rome succeeded in Santa Fiora to the Sforza di Muzio Attendolo, who, in their turn, had obtained the wide lands of the Count Guido, the last of the Aldobrandeschi, more than two hundred years before, by marriage with his daughters. But the memories of the old feudal days still hang about Santa Fiora, and cannot be shaken off. You may wander through the modern pleassance of the modern Counts, and watch the trout in their fish-ponds, but you remember all the time that the river which feeds them is the same whereto that garden sloped in which Giovagnuolo was buried. You may walk the downward-slanting streets, interrupted every few steps by flat spaces and by parapets which open always downwards, allowing you to pass, by stairways and by swift declivities, to the long bare valley beneath, through which the Fiora brawls its violent way to the southward; but that dark tower overshadows you still. You may seek the old parochial church with its beautiful bas-reliefs, its silence and its pleasant gloom, and you may look out across the low-lying space between, to Monte di Selvena, where one of the Aldobrandeschi slew, long years ago, a fearful dragon, whose jawbone the kindly monks of the Convento della Trinità will show you readily enough if you ask to see it. You will never doubt the story there.’

This is good writing, and useful writing. Not history, but of the stuff wherewith history should be quickened if it is to endure.

Better than the ‘*Ensamples*’ is Mr Heywood’s little book on the Palio, because, while it is no less observant, vivacious, and well-informed, it is more strictly *ad rem*. It has been said already that two things make the Palio

essential to the study of Siena, past and present: the first, that it depends upon Siennese Madonna-worship; the second, that there depends from it the rationale of the Siennese faction-mania—the jealousy of *contrada* and *contrada*, which is an almost inconceivable thing, and nowadays, so far as our experience goes, an unique thing. For testimony to the first, one must study Gigli's rhapsodical performance, 'La città diletta di Maria,' and ponder his quite serious words, 'Che non sia giudizio temerario il giudicar Mistero di Maria in tutte le cose del popolo senese'; and to the second, the fact, which is well vouched for, that a wife of one *contrada* will leave her husband of another, and abide with her own people, until the Palio be won. To attempt any comprehension of the Siennese, therefore, without reckoning their love of God's mother and loathing for each other, is perfectly hopeless. Professor Douglas has fared badly without it: they form the beginning and the end of Mr Heywood's book, 'Our Lady of August,' the middle parts of which are filled with the most picturesque, sympathetic, and illuminative description of the city and her high day of festival it has ever been our good fortune to read.

Mr Heywood's work has that rare combination of humour and erudition, that even rarer blend of the critical with the enthusiastic faculty which makes good and wise readers, as it is followed from stave to stave. To love Italy and to give her lovers, a man must be a classic, something of a pedant, and a humanist. The past lives in every angle of the road; the forms are so precise, the air so clear, that exact scholarship is of the essence of the contract; and yet one must be tender with the people, see them the best thing in their country; be patient, be just, and yet a lover. Italy has been well served before our day by men of our race. The good Evelyn loved her; so did the brave Dennis, and Storey the American sculptor, whose 'Roba di Roma' should have earned him something like immortality. At the moment Mr Carmichael and Mr Heywood, each in his own way, are upholding the tradition. The palm is Mr Heywood's, on the whole; not so heady an advocate, but (as we hold) all the better for his temperance, certainly the more exact scholar, the shrewder observer, the more various writer.

We must commend, though we may not stay to examine, his third book, which concerns the famous 'Tavolette della Biccherna' of Siena, the painted covers of the Treasury minute-books which it was a point of honour for the Camarlengo of the year to commission before he left office. They form—with one or two unfortunate gaps—what Mr Heywood justly calls 'a pictorial chronicle' of the city; his book is a running commentary upon them. It is not necessary, so late in the day, to commend these curious and beautiful little pictures. 'Modest compositions and frankly Sienese' though they be, as Mr Heywood goes on to say, in them 'the beauties of the school are far more obvious than its defects.' This is perfectly true. Forced by the exigencies of their commissions to come out of church, the painters of Siena, without ceasing to be miniaturists, reported, and enchantingly, of a wider field than the sanctuary rails could hold. There are portraits, battle-pieces, landscapes, figure-pieces, among the *tavolette*; Sano di Pietro's 'Sanseverino Marriage,' for instance, and Francesco di Giorgio's picture of the kneeling Madonna, with walled Siena in her hands, are examples of what might have been the chances of the Sienese school if the virtues which were latent in its pupils had been given scope enough. But here, with regret, we must take leave of Mr Heywood, with hearty commendation of his learning so lightly carried and work so faithfully done. He has deserved well of his adopted home, the fair city on the three hills.

---

# Art. IX.—THE ROYAL ACADEMY AND REFORM.

1. *An Inquiry into the Rise and Establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts.* By Robert Strange. London: 1775.
2. *Patronage of British Art.* By John Pye. London: Longmans, 1845.
3. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the present position of the Royal Academy in relation to the Fine Arts.* 1863.

WHEN the Royal Academy was established by his Majesty King George III in 1768, the purpose of its establishment and the constitution of its government were set forth as follows :—

‘We have thought fit to establish in this our City of London a Society for the purposes of painting, sculpture, and architecture, under the name and title of The Royal Academy of Arts, and under our own immediate patronage and protection: and we have resolved to entrust the sole management and direction of the said Society under us to forty Academicians, the most able and respectable artists resident in Great Britain.’

Now we shall hardly be wrong if we say that almost everybody in England at the present time who interests himself in artistic affairs imagines that King George III was thus led to establish the Academy, not only by reason of his own ardent desire to do whatever lay in his power for the arts of the country, but also in response to the persistent representations of the artistic profession generally of that day, headed by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is undoubtedly somewhat of a shock to a student of the Academy's history to find that this popular belief is scarcely borne out by recorded facts. In 1760 the first public exhibition of works by British artists was held in the great room of the Society of Arts in the Strand. In 1761, certain difficulties having arisen, the artists split into two societies—one, afterwards known as the Free Society of Artists, continuing for a while to exhibit at the Society of Arts; the other, afterwards known as the Society of Artists of Great Britain, holding their exhibition at Spring Gardens. This latter, apparently the more important

body of the two, seems to have had a somewhat stormy existence for seven years, mainly owing to the domineering attitude of its directors, two thirds of whom, at the annual election in 1768, were in consequence superseded. Though not himself one of the ejected directors, Benjamin West and the seven other members of the old directorate who had been retained in office sent in their resignations, and made common cause with the sixteen who had been turned out.

West had the ear of the King, and he used his influence to good effect. He represented to the King the dissensions which had taken place in the incorporated society, and his Majesty at once replied 'that he would gladly patronise any association that might be found better calculated to improve the arts.' Immediately Messrs West, Chambers, Moser, and Cotes set to work to devise a plan of the Academy. 'His Majesty took great personal interest in the scheme, and even drew up several of the laws with his own hand.' By royal command the whole business was kept a profound secret till the code of laws was completed. When all was ready, on a certain evening 'a meeting of thirty of the forty artists of whom it was intended that the Academy should consist was to be holden at the house of Wilton, the sculptor, in order to receive the code of laws, and to nominate the office-bearers.' Joshua Reynolds, it appears, had not been admitted into the secret of this movement; no consultation had been held with him respecting the formation of the Academy; but it had been privately arranged that he was to be the president, and to receive the honour of knighthood. At the last moment unforeseen trouble arose. On the morning of the day on which the meeting was to take place it suddenly became known to West that there was grave reason for supposing that Reynolds would refuse to attend the meeting, and was indeed out of sympathy with the whole notion of the Academy. At once West hurried to Reynolds's house; but only after a long interview with him extending over some hours was the latter persuaded to attend. On reaching the meeting he was at once, by preconcerted action, acclaimed president. That, once elected to the presidency, he threw himself into the duties of his position with sustained vigour, is, of course, matter of common knowledge. But of starting the idea

of the Academy, and being in any way responsible for its original constitution, it would appear that Reynolds was wholly innocent.

It is for a practical reason that we have begun this article with a quotation from the original diploma of the Royal Academy, and with a slight sketch of how that body actually sprang into existence. We are going to speak upon the question of Academy reform; to try to show why we think reform is called for, and what kind of reform would alone be satisfactory. In setting out our views on this matter we wish to appeal to members of the Academy itself, to artists at large, and to that considerable body of intelligent opinion which we may call the art-loving public. It is clearly desirable that from the outset our readers should understand a little how things lie; it is desirable, that is to say, that they should have some idea in general of the rise and constitution of the body whose reform we are asking them to consider. It cannot, however, be taken for granted that even artists, much less the public, are familiar with these things; and so we have at once briefly set forth this account of them as our opening. It is unnecessary for our immediate purpose to investigate the history further. What we have practically to do is to fix our attention on the Royal Academy as it stands to-day; and to this we turn.

But before we go any further let us here state once for all that we entirely deprecate any idea that what we are intending in this article upon the Academy can properly be described as an attack. Nothing could be farther from our mind. An august body such as this, which numbers amongst its members so many admirable artists, which has always numbered amongst its members so many admirable artists since its institution close upon a hundred and fifty years ago, is not a fit object for what is ordinarily meant by an attack, unless it can be shown to be abusing its position and privileges flagrantly. Certainly no sane person, talking calmly, and with a sense of responsibility, will pretend that any such scandalous abuse can be laid at the door of the Academy. In loose moments of intimacy, in moments of personal annoyance, men may be known to have spoken unguardedly and extravagantly on this matter, no doubt. But deliberately to suggest the existence of such an abuse



would be at once to put oneself out of court in every reasonable man's opinion as a critic so foolishly wild, or so jaundiced, that his criticisms would not be worth listening to.

It is the fate, however, of all human institutions, even of the most venerable, that seeds of decay should be set and grow in them. Years move on, conditions change, reform becomes natural, inevitable. It may be that at any particular moment, owing to these changed conditions, reform, to prove salutary, must be indeed radical. Yet it may also be that any given institution requiring such reform is incapable of effecting it of its own initiative. Under such circumstances, how is it to be set going? Almost certainly the compelling force will come from without. But for all that, we will venture to protest, there is no reason why it should not come in a way altogether friendly. Let us apply these remarks to the case before us.

Here is the Royal Academy, then, in our midst, with a history behind it of nearly a century and a half. On the surface, and to the ordinary eye, it may seem to present no cause for dissatisfaction. It enjoys the highest social countenance, the widest popular admiration. Yet those who are behind the scenes know that there is a different tale to tell. Amongst a considerable number of eminent artists, and a considerable number of intelligent lovers of the arts, the Academy has come to count for singularly little. Many of the former have ceased to send to its exhibitions, many of the latter have ceased to attend them. And the range of this indifference spreads. It is hardly too much to say that the more distinguished among the younger generation of artists, with their wider interests and increased opportunities of study and exhibition, are more and more growing to look upon the Academy as a closed door to them, but a door about which they need not greatly trouble themselves as to whether it is closed or not. They mean doing without the Academy. It is idle to tell any one who is familiar with the art world that this dissatisfaction does not exist, or is insignificant, or is not on the increase. But to some of us the spectacle is a sad one, and we would fain do something, if we could, to help mend things. From time to time rumours spread that even within the Academy

itself there are those who feel that everything is not as unclouded and of as good omen as superficial observers take it to be. These men would move a little if they could; furtively and tentatively they do move; but the weight of precedent and the shackles of comradeship are too much for them; they attain to so little of substantial worth that it amounts practically to nothing. From within the Academy, then, there seems faint hope of real amendment. Outside it is much discontent, now grown to be hopeless and indifferent. But outside it also are some of us discontented, indeed, yet *not* hopeless or indifferent. We believe that the Academy has a great future before it, upon which we desire to see it enter; but we are convinced that the one condition of its entering is reformation, and that a radical reformation.

Now the reform which we should wish to see in the Royal Academy resolves itself into three heads; a reform of it in its constitution; a reform of it as an exhibiting body; and a reform of it as an educational body. We will proceed to take these heads shortly in order, and show in each case what we believe to be the evil that calls for the reform, and broadly how we think the reform might be carried out.

In the first place, then, as regards the Academy's constitution. Its original constitution as a body established for the purposes of painting, sculpture, and architecture, whose sole management and direction was entrusted to forty Academicians,\* seems to us—we will frankly confess it at once—an arrangement entirely out of date for any society claiming to represent, and acceptable as representing the art and artists of Great Britain at the present day. Popular opinion, no doubt, will not at once assent to this; but is it a safe guide? Unquestionably the public at large still takes the Royal Academy at the old conventional valuation. It flocks to the summer exhibition; it reads long and laudatory notices of the exhibition in the press; all appears to it to be going on happily as it has gone these many years past; and it imagines that the highest dream the ambition of any artist can indulge

---

\* The Associates of the Royal Academy—a limited number—vote for the election of new members; otherwise they have no voice in the management of the body.

in is that of being thought worthy some day or other of getting elected a member of this supreme body. Such, no doubt, is the attitude of the public at large; but then, as regards art, the public at large has neither much seriousness nor much discernment.

And so it is hardly a surprise that, when we turn from the public to the artists, and to those who are intelligently concerned about art, we come across something very different from this easy-going contentment. These more interested and discriminating critics find much about the Academy that rouses their discontent, and they are not backward in giving expression to it. Their complaints mainly take two forms. Thus it is objected in some quarters that, even supposing the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture were efficiently represented by the academicians, we have come to see that there are several other arts besides these, arts which at present are wholly unrecognised in the Academy; and that such a state of things is anomalous. Upon this point, a little later on, when we come to speak of the reform of the Academy in its exhibitions, we shall have a word or two to say. In other quarters it is objected that a rigidly limited, self-elected body cannot in the nature of the case be representative of an increasingly large profession; and that it is contrary to the spirit of our times that a body of this sort should be accepted as such, and consequently that claims made by or for it on our allegiance are preposterous. So long as such a body holds the field, grave injustice is perpetually being done. See how many men of eminence, these critics say, there have been in the past, even men like Albert Moore or Cecil Lawson for example, to whom it cannot be objected that they never exhibited within the walls of the Academy, who were kept outside it. See how many men of first-rate repute there are to-day, who have every qualification for election, yet who are kept outside it, and are likely to remain so. See some of those who have been, and are within it, who never at any time were by any serious artists recognised as first-rate. These are facts, they tell us, which cannot be gainsaid; and they are the kind of facts which must perpetually occur in the history of a body which, to put it plainly, has grown, for all its prestige and professions, difficult to discriminate from a private art-club. So long

as the Academy, they urge, is thus virtually such a club, discontent will be rife and reform hopeless; at most, there will only be deceptive tinkering at reform.

It is short-sightedness to treat these complaints as if they did not exist, or as if they only arose from ill-conditioned prejudice, or as if they were at any rate so few, and from such insignificant quarters, that really they did not matter. For, to tell the truth, it is by no means simply the heady youth or the disappointed aspirant from whose lips these complaints are heard. Men of established reputation, to whom academical honours are personally nothing, are to be found in plenty giving expression to them, though in sorrow, it may be, as the saying is, more than in anger. To such men it seems so pitiful that the Academy, with its great possibilities, should in part be blinded to its own and the country's higher artistic ends; and in part be so hampered by precedent and the wording of a charter that healthy and beneficent reform is forbidden it. Let us be clearly understood. We do not doubt that these complaints of the Academy's being unrepresentative of our modern ideas of a national art, and unrepresentative of the artistic profession, are well grounded. At the same time we do not doubt that, even if academicians listened to them and were anxious to remedy the evils complained of, they would find themselves tied hand and foot by their existing constitution, and be unable radically to remedy these evils. Upon this point, more presently. But the thing is, first of all, to get the academicians to listen, to get them to realise facts round about them, to see what artists and art-lovers as serious and eminent as themselves are feeling more and more, and what by and by, as things advance, even the great public itself will come to feel; to get them, in a word, to accept and make for the only lines of reform which can finally avail.

And what are these lines? We will state them, as they seem to us, shortly and plainly. The old idea, then, of a semi-private, semi-public body, limited in numbers, privileged, self-elected, yet claiming to be representative, must for good and all go. Such a body is, in the nature of it, out of joint with the times; it is a relic of an order of things different from that we are now content to accept and live under; it works ill to the interests of

artists and of art at large. Instead of uniting artists and the arts, its existence tends to disunite them; it tends to the multiplication of small bodies and schools, irritated by its inevitable lack of expansiveness, and too often driven by this irritation into rebellious extravagances of views and practice. Its individual members may be men of high ability and sympathetic temper, but they are debarred by the essential character of their body from healthy development, and from exercising in any fullness a healthy influence.

What, then, is to take its place? We answer frankly: instead of a rigidly limited body, a body which shall comprise all artists of repute amongst their fellows irrespective of numbers. Instead of a body comprising only painters, sculptors, and architects, a body on which shall be represented practitioners in every branch of the arts. Instead of a body the affairs of which are virtually in the hands of a few, a large body, such as we have indicated, in which every member shall have full rights of voting for election of its members, its committees, its executive, and of making his voice heard in all its business.

Such, in principle, is a sketch of the constitution of a reformed Academy of the Arts, which, in our opinion, would satisfactorily meet the requirements of our time; and anything short of this we believe would not satisfactorily meet them, and would not, therefore, command wide and permanent allegiance. Critics of our scheme may, of course, readily enough raise questions as to how the practical working of it could be carried out, and suggest real points of difficulty. Our reply at the moment is that if the principle of our suggested reform came to be accepted, at least so far as to be a basis for practical discussion, we should be prepared to show how we think it could be carried out as a working scheme; but that to enter upon such practical details beforehand would be idle. One criticism, however, on the scheme itself, as distinct from the detailed execution of it, may very naturally be raised, as we have indeed heard it raised; and some answer to it may be reasonably expected. The criticism is this. A strong point which you bring against the existing Academy is that it is self-elected; but, even if such an extensive society as you advocate were formed, unlimited in numbers and repre-

sentative of every form of art, would not, after all, that too be self-elected, just as the existing society is?

We answer that no doubt it would be so. The only alternative would be a body elected on the basis of an universal, or almost universal, artistic suffrage; and the notion of such a suffrage is impracticable. But between a small, limited, self-elected body, representative of only a selection of the arts, and a large, unlimited, though still self-elected body, representative of all the arts, the difference for practical purposes is nearly absolute. Where so many interests would be represented, and all their representatives would have, at least ultimately and on occasion, a voice in the management of affairs, it is certain that, within the limits of what can reasonably be looked for, the interests of art in general, and of the artistic profession as a whole, would make themselves forcibly heard and be adequately attended to.

We pass to the position of the Royal Academy as an exhibiting body. At present the Academy holds an annual exhibition during the months of May, June, and July. Substantially this is an exhibition of easel pictures in oils with a few water-colours—this, and but little more. A small section of the exhibition, no doubt, is devoted to sculpture. But, as sculptors are always protesting, it is but an inadequate display of their work under exceedingly poor conditions. Again, there is a room devoted to architectural drawings, and to sketches of work more or less immediately associated with architecture, as, for example, sketches of stained glass or of iron work. The architects, however, and the designers seem to be not less unanimous than the sculptors in complaining of the treatment which their work receives, and of the conditions to which they have to submit. A certain number of them send to the Academy exhibition, but it is only in the half-hearted spirit of men who feel they must make the best of a bad job. It is, on the whole, the same story with the engravers, the etchers, the draughtsmen in black and white. The complaints of these various artists may not reach the public ear. Now and again there comes a little stir, and a letter or two appear in the papers exciting a momentary attention; but, on the whole, the public remains ignorant of the wide-spread discontent which those who move in art circles know only too well. If those who complain



least are, perhaps, the painters in water-colour, the reason is obvious. The painters in water-colour have homes of their own elsewhere, in Piccadilly and Pall Mall; and it is to these that their more important work goes. Let it be further noticed that, in this enumeration of arts inadequately represented at the Academy exhibition, we have made barely any mention of what are known as the decorative and applied arts. For these, indeed, which nowadays have grown to be recognised as of high importance, practically no place of any sort is found. Here, then, is a Royal Academy of Arts, enjoying the highest social patronage and a wide-spread popular esteem, in the annual exhibition of which certain forms of art are not shown at all, certain forms are shown inadequately, and only one form, the art of painting easel pictures in oils, is shown on any effective scale.

We are aware, however, that there are not wanting advocates for leaving things as they are, whose rejoinders to this indictment are based upon two different grounds. The first set of objectors reply that, so far as the purely decorative and applied arts go, they do not come within the scope of the Royal Academy, and ought not to come within its scope; and that therefore any complaint on this head is irrelevant. The second set reply that to have an exhibition which would deal adequately with every form of contemporary fine art is, in view of the space that would be required for it, an impracticable idea. Moreover, it is urged, picture-painting is the most popular of all the arts, and the number of picture-painters will always be in a large majority, rightly having a claim to the best representation; and therefore other forms of art must accept this condition of things, and be as contented as they can be.

With the first class of objectors we would join issue at once. We are not prepared for a moment to accept the position upon which they take their stand. In the nature of things there seems to us no reason whatever why the decorative and applied arts should not enjoy precisely the same patronage as the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture. As a matter of historical fact, in the finer periods of art they did enjoy it; and nowadays amongst ourselves more and more are intelligent and cultivated persons growing to appreciate their impor-



tance. If the existing charter of the Royal Academy, therefore, does not allow it to embrace these arts, that only shows how ideas have developed since the day when its charter was granted, and how desirable it would be that application should now be made for a new one.

To the second class of objectors our answer would run thus. Their statement as to the preponderant popularity of picture-painting we accept entirely; we accept also their statement as to the consequent impossibility of any one exhibition dealing in an adequate manner with all the forms of art which should of right have their honourable place in it. Our solution of the difficulty, however, is a simple one—simple, that is, in principle, though, of course, the way of working it out must involve much arrangement of detail necessitating thought and prudence. Our solution is this: the Royal Academy, instead of having a single annual exhibition, must have, at the least, two. Let us for the moment suppose two. The distinction between these exhibitions might run broadly on these lines. The first, we would suggest, might be devoted to pictures, and to such forms of sculpture—for example, statues and busts—as are meant to stand by themselves. The second exhibition would be devoted to architecture, to sculpture and carving in their immediate connexion with architecture, to drawings and engravings, and to the applied or minor arts of decoration in general. Under this last head would come such arts as jewellery, printing, furniture, metal-work, embroidery, and, in short, all that is nowadays readily understood by the expression arts and crafts. Here, then, we should have a broad and practical principle upon which the two annual exhibitions might be worked, so as to give as fair a field as possible to every branch of the arts. Even thus, no doubt, in order to avoid overcrowding and to set off to advantage the articles exhibited, stringent rules would have to be drawn up as to the number of exhibits any one artist might submit and show. But that would be a point for detailed consideration and arrangement, certainly not beyond the powers of a practical body of men to settle satisfactorily.

There is one other matter under this head that we must touch upon, and it is a matter of the first importance. Even with the limited forms of art now admissible

to the Academy exhibition, it is not unfrequently a ground for complaint that a work has been judged, not by artists practising in the particular line of art to which the work belongs, but in some other line. It is not asserted, of course, that this happens as a rule, or that care is not taken to avoid it. Still, in the course of things it does happen, and obviously it ought never to happen. The danger of its happening in such exhibitions as we are suggesting, with the vastly increased range of objects to be judged, would undoubtedly be greater than it now is; but it is a danger that can be guarded against. The safeguard would lie in the adoption and rigorous maintenance of such a rule as this, that no work should be judged or placed except by a committee of artists practically familiar with that branch of art to which the work in question belongs. The arrangement for a number of such committees in our enlarged Academy might be a little exacting, but it would be practicable; and we are concerned not to devise a scheme which shall avoid trouble, but one which shall ensure efficiency.

Lastly, there is the position of the Royal Academy as an educational body. The mention of this aspect of the institution suggests immediately, to some, perhaps, suggests only, the Academy schools. Except in the preliminary stages of the schools, through which intelligent students pass quickly, and which are to be regarded merely as superior drawing-classes for putting young people through their paces, the system upon which the higher training is given is as follows. Different members of the Academy are told off, each for a month at a time, to act as visitors to the advanced classes. The same pupils, that is to say, are lectured and instructed in the same subjects by constantly shifting relays of teachers—men, be it observed, with different ideas about art in general, different aims in their own work, and different, often quite radically different, practical methods. We would not conceal from our readers that an eminent academician, indeed, has but lately been heard lauding these schools as the best in the world, and lauding them specifically for this very system of constantly shifting instructors. The enthusiastic expression of such a man's opinion on the matter is, no doubt, extremely interesting, and commands attention; but we confess that it has not

carried conviction to our minds, and we have reason to believe that it has not carried conviction to the artistic profession as a body. They treat it rather as a brilliant but unsubstantial piece of whimsical special pleading. On the contrary, amongst those who have themselves passed through these schools, as well as amongst those who have studied the history of art education in the past, or observed it to-day on the Continent, there seems to be a fair consensus of opinion that our Academy system of shifting relays of teachers, one in and one out, month by month, is far from fortunate in its results. They say that it bewilders, irritates, and disheartens students, and does not make for thoroughness. They protest that it is contrary to common-sense that a pupil should have half a dozen different ways of looking at art and of practising it sketchily set before him, instead of being perfected in the principles and assured method of a single master, whose teaching by and by the pupil can modify to suit his own individuality, when his student days are over, and he has been substantially equipped by a definite training to judge and assimilate for himself. They further state that, as a matter of experience, the system stands largely condemned by the fact that during recent years a large percentage of Academy students, from amongst whom have developed some of the most brilliant artists of the younger generation, have been led, through the keenly-felt failure of their academical training, finally to go elsewhere in order to supplement it, and to find what they practically wanted.

To what conclusion, then, are we led? An Academy reformed upon the generous lines we have been indicating would still find itself in the same relation to its schools as the existing Academy does. Our conclusion, therefore, is that it should close its schools; that is to say, it should relinquish all attempt at the direct teaching of students. And when one comes to think of it, the need for such direct teaching on its part no longer exists. In London, and up and down the country, competent schools of art have been established, and are flourishing. Let, then, our reformed Academy direct its efforts towards the advancement of such schools as already exist by means of inspection, scholarships, loan of artistic objects,

money grants, or other substantial forms of assistance; and towards establishing, or helping to establish, new local schools where and when they are needed. In a word, our idea would be to see the Academy taking up the position, not so much of a training-college or school, as that of a university of the arts, granting scholarships, honours, and degrees. It is in this way, we believe, that, reorganised on the larger basis we have suggested, it would best fulfil its high function as an educational power, and command the most wide-spread allegiance.

And undoubtedly, once reconstituted so as really to be representative of British art, and by consequence not only claiming, but receiving the confidence of the artistic profession and of all intelligent lovers of the arts, there would be many occasions on which the Royal Academy would have opportunities thrust upon it of guiding and educating the national taste. When important schemes, for instance, of public building or decoration, whether in the metropolis or elsewhere, came up for consideration, it would be natural for the authorities to turn to the Academy for artistic counsel as to the one central, acknowledged authority; and the voice of the Academy would carry with it on such matters real weight. Or again, at times of international exhibitions and the like, we should all feel that the Academy might safely be left to do its very utmost for the honour of the country, and that we might trust our artistic interests, in the widest sense, safely in its keeping. And so it would come about that, in the highest way, the Royal Academy would still be a national educator, directly and indirectly, in matters of artistic moment, though it no longer had a single class of young scholars within the walls of Burlington House perplexing and burdening it, yet after all to no satisfactory end.

We do not affect to suppose that the reforms we have been suggesting will at first sight appear other than over-exacting, and even revolutionary. It is for this reason that in some quarters they are sure to be rejected altogether and at once as uncalled for, nay, as impertinent. In other quarters, where men are more sympathetic and awake, it will be gravely questioned whether, even supposing such radical reformation must some day become necessary, it would not be more businesslike, and more

in accordance with the established methods of English procedure, to start with proposals less fundamental, and work towards our end slowly, perhaps not too overtly, by little piece on piece of detailed reform.

In answer to such criticism we would reply: in the first place we are convinced that nothing but radical re-organisation can finally set the Royal Academy right with the nation and enable it to take in reality the position it but now assumes, yet to which we should wish to see it justly entitled. If we have this conviction, we believe it will be found more practical as well as more straightforward to say so at once, to state frankly what it is at which we are ultimately aiming, whether at the moment it be obtainable or not. To carry through our ideas, we are aware, would mean the concession of a new charter. We see that a large amount of detailed discussion and anxious thought would have to be expended even before the point was reached at which the idea of application for such a new charter would be entertained as a matter of immediately practical concern. Meantime by all means let detailed reforms be proceeded with—limitations, for example, as to the number of pictures that academicians should have the right to hang; limitations as to the number an outsider may present for approval; rearrangements as to the length of time each visitor in the schools should be called upon to serve at a stretch. These little reforms have their value; but they do not touch the heart of the matter. They might all be compassed, and a dozen like them, to-morrow, yet the radical artistic disaffection would remain still as it is. We are content to move slowly and cautiously, to make every allowance for natural prejudices, and for difficulties in the way; we are content for the moment if we can but arrest attention and stimulate discussion. The one thing we are not content to do is to let the real, final issues at stake be forgotten and confused. These issues will have some day or another to be met, and, in the minds of many men, the time has already fully come when it is but common prudence quietly to face this fact.

# Art. X.—THE SURVIVAL OF PERSONALITY.

1. *Human Personality, and its Survival of Bodily Death.*  
By Frederic W. H. Myers. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1903.
2. *Modern Spiritualism: a History and a Criticism.* By Frank Podmore. Two vols. London: Methuen, 1902.

THERE was a time when the investigation of physical science was taboo, and when any one who dabbled in experiments was regarded as a person who sought to unveil forbidden mysteries, and to make himself wiser than men were intended to be. The oldest human legend is of this nature; and since that time the forbidden topic has taken one form after another, until now the term 'occult' is applied chiefly to certain psychical phenomena, and the adventurous explorer into these mysteries is met either with ridicule or with superstitious aloofness, according to the temperament of the public who are made acquainted with his eccentricities.

Whatever may be thought of the books at the head of this article, they are a protest, and an effective protest, against such an attitude as that. They both recognise that there is an obscure region of human faculty worth enquiring into; and, on the whole, they proceed on the assumption that the methods and processes which have proved so successful in physical science are applicable in this region also, and that a pertinacious attempt to apply scientific methods to psychical phenomena may in the long run be as fruitful of result as it has proved in the case of the longer recognised and sometimes specifically denominated 'natural' sciences. The aim of these writers is to enlarge the borders of natural science, and enable it to include much that is often conventionally regarded as outside the region of careful scrutiny and exact record.

Of the books above mentioned, by far the greatest and most challenging is the massive treatise embodying the life-work of the late F. W. H. Myers; and it is to these two volumes that we shall devote the greater part of our attention. The work originated, as we are told in the introduction, in the gradual conviction of a group of Cambridge friends that here was an unexplored territory of great extent, off which the man of science had hitherto



been warned by deterrent notices of various kinds, but which nevertheless appeared to be open to a sufficiently enterprising and long-continued assault on the part of travellers and pioneers. They decided, therefore, to ignore the menacing notices, whether of ridicule or of superstition, and to proceed on the assumption that a purely scientific attitude of mind could be as effective here as elsewhere for discovering truth. It is doubtful whether the idea of such a possibility has taken hold of any large number of persons even now; in the seventies some originality and some courage were necessary to formulate the proposition and to act upon it.

Mr Myers says:—

‘To those immediately concerned, the feeling of a new departure was inevitably given by the very smallness of the support which they for a long time received, and by the difficulty which they found in making their point of view intelligible to the scientific, to the religious, or even to the spiritualistic world. . . . Our attitudes of mind were in some ways different; but to myself, at least, it seemed that no adequate attempt had yet been made even to determine whether anything could be learnt as to an unseen world or no; for that, if anything were knowable about such a world, in such fashion that Science could adopt and maintain that knowledge, it must be discovered by no analysis of tradition, and by no manipulation of metaphysics, but simply by experiment and observation—simply by the application to phenomena within us and around us of precisely the same methods of deliberate, dispassionate, exact inquiry which have built up our actual knowledge of the world which we can touch and see. . . . It must be an inquiry resting primarily, as all scientific inquiries in the stricter sense now must rest, upon objective facts actually observable, upon experiments which we can repeat to-day, and which we may hope to carry further to-morrow. It must be an inquiry based, to use an old term, on the uniformitarian hypothesis; on the presumption, that is to say, that *if a spiritual world exists, and if that world has at any epoch been manifest, or even discoverable, then it ought to be manifest or discoverable now.*’ (i, 7.)

Not that it is to be supposed that such an idea was really new; to visionaries and men of genius it had occurred before; and, as Myers expressly says:—

‘It was to Swedenborg first that that unseen world appeared before all things as a realm of law; a region not of mere



emotional vagueness or stagnancy of adoration, but of definite progress according to definite relations of cause and effect, resulting from structural laws of spiritual existence and intercourse which we may in time learn partially to apprehend. For my own part I regard Swedenborg—not, assuredly, as an inspired teacher, nor even as a trustworthy interpreter of his own experiences—but yet as a true and early precursor of that great inquiry which it is our present object to advance.' (i, 6.)

The system of observation and experiment thus entered upon consisted in conducting careful experiments on such asserted phenomena as lay to hand for that purpose; notably upon hypnotism, upon the so-called clairvoyance of trance and other abnormal states, and upon the recently asserted possibility of thought transference, or conveyance of an impression from one person to another by agency other than the known organs of sense. To the reality of this last faculty, though by no means to the genuineness of all exhibited instances of it, the leaders of the society gradually became converted; and Myers gave the name telepathy to this power—a name which has entered into ordinary language. The experiments by which the existence of this faculty were demonstrated are such as can be easily repeated—given persons sensitive in this direction; and, if it becomes ultimately recognised and incorporated into orthodox science, it will form a most important new adit into a region of enquiry previously unsuspected by scientific men, and must necessarily have far-reaching consequences.

In the light of the fact of telepathy, as these pioneers considered it, a hypothesis of a clarifying and rationalising kind suggested itself in connexion with the spontaneous class of phenomena, on which experiment was not possible, but which were testified to by a great number of witnesses, and by records both of savage and of civilised people throughout the whole of the past history of mankind. Of these the most frequent were veridical dreams and visions of friends at the point of death or of danger.

And whereas to uninstructed persons such visions seem to have an objective reality, akin to that of material entities which through bodily sense-organs excite a mental impression, the better instructed know that mental impressions of somewhat similar character can be produced

in diverse ways; for just as it is possible to stimulate the retina, not only by light as usual, but by electricity and by mechanical pressure also—the effects in each case taking the form of apparent luminosity, but the causes being different—so also it might be with those mental impressions called visions. If the appropriate portion of the brain were by any means stimulated, it would undoubtedly appear to be due to an impulse coming through the usual physical channel, the retina and optic nerve, and would be interpreted as corresponding to an external light-emitting object; other objects in the field of view, really imprinted on the retina, being visible simultaneously.

But this would be an hallucination; which does not mean a mere illusion or nonentity, but a mental impression due to some real though misinterpreted cause. The fact of telepathy seemed to suggest such a cause, and to suggest the beginnings of a rational treatment. If ideas can be excited psychologically by direct action between minds without employing organs of sense, and if this power can be established by simple and direct experiments between neighbouring persons conducted in the cool air of a laboratory, then it would be possible that the strong emotion or psychical disturbance accompanying moments of danger or imminent death might spontaneously excite an impression in the mind, and therefore indirectly in the brain, of persons at a distance, who would thereby become conscious of an impression which they would inevitably interpret as a vision of a bodily form in front of them; though manifestly the hypothesis that a distant or dying or deceased person could appear in visible form, in body and clothes, and imprint a physical image by ordinary optics upon the retina, is one that will not stand examination.

The question was whether the new hypothesis of telepathic transmission would fare any better; whether it would fit the facts and be acceptable as a *vera causa* of a rationalising and scientific kind. Clearly the examination of such a hypothesis must involve a great amount of work. It became necessary to collect narratives of an hallucinatory description, especially such as could be obtained on first-hand evidence, and to criticise and collate them carefully in order to see if any law ran

through them all ; and to ascertain how far the hypothesis of telepathy, spontaneously excited between persons at a distance, could account for these visions and legendary appearances and information supranormally attained. A great collection, industriously made and sifted by Edmund Gurney, Mr Podmore, and Myers himself through many years, and subsequently published in part in two volumes entitled 'Phantasms of the Living,' was the result ; and this collection is largely used to illustrate Myers's theory as developed in this book.

But it must be understood that these records are used in a double capacity : partly as material indicating on good evidence that there are facts in the universe of which no explanation has been hitherto attempted by science ; partly and often with a view of illustrating the kind of phenomena which, on the author's theory, might be expected to occur, and showing that, whether perfectly evidenced or not, such phenomena are at any rate asserted to occur by persons quite ignorant of the theory which they are thus unconsciously illustrating.

The main contention or hypothesis running through the treatise is the existence of a 'subliminal' self. This is not to be understood, as some critics have vainly imagined, as a doctrine that man has a duplex soul or a bifurcate personality. The idea of a double soul, of which part is immortal and part is engaged in mundane affairs, is an old idea, and it has been represented in influential quarters as the view of Myers, but it is a mere parody of his view. Myers's fundamental hypothesis has so frequently been misunderstood that it is necessary to emphasise it.

'The idea of a *threshold* (*limen*, *Schwelle*) of consciousness—of a level above which sensation or thought must rise before it can enter into our conscious life—is a simple and familiar one. The word *subliminal*, meaning 'beneath that threshold,' has already been used to define those sensations which are too feeble to be individually recognised. I propose to extend the meaning of the term, so as to make it cover *all* that takes place beneath the ordinary threshold, or say, if preferred, outside the ordinary margin of consciousness—not only those faint stimulations whose very faintness keeps them submerged but much else which psychology as yet scarcely recognises—sensations, thoughts, emotions, which may be strong, definite

and independent, but which, by the original constitution of our being, seldom emerge into that *supraliminal* current of consciousness which we habitually identify with *ourselves*. Perceiving (as this book will try to show) that these submerged thoughts and emotions possess the characteristics which we associate with conscious life, I feel bound to speak of a *subliminal* or ultra-marginal consciousness—a consciousness which we shall see, for instance, uttering or writing sentences quite as complex and coherent as the supraliminal consciousness could make them. Perceiving further that this conscious life beneath the threshold, or beyond the margin, seems to be no discontinuous or intermittent thing; that not only are these isolated subliminal processes comparable with isolated supraliminal processes (as when a problem is solved by some unknown procedure in a dream), but that there also is a continuous subliminal chain of memory (or more chains than one) involving just that kind of individual and persistent revival of old impressions, and response to new ones, which we commonly call a Self—I find it permissible and convenient to speak of subliminal Selves, or more briefly of a subliminal Self. I do not indeed [N.B.], by using this term, assume that there are two correlative and parallel selves existing always within each of us. Rather I mean by the subliminal Self that part of the Self which is commonly subliminal; and I conceive that there may be, not only *co-operations* between these quasi-independent trains of thought, but also upheavals and alternations of personality of many kinds, so that what was once below the surface may for a time, or permanently, rise above it. And I conceive also that no Self of which we can here have cognisance is in reality more than a fragment of a larger Self—revealed in a fashion at once shifting and limited through an organism not so framed as to afford it full manifestation.' (i, 14.)

Several illustrations and analogies can be suggested in order to familiarise people with this idea, the importance of which in psychology has been authoritatively emphasised by Professor William James of Harvard. Sometimes the iceberg analogue is useful, the upper and visible portion of the berg being but a small fraction of its entire mass; the larger, the supporting, portion of it being submerged in a universally connecting ocean, of the substance of which indeed every part of it consists, and into which one day it will return.

Another analogue which has been recently suggested is

that of a tree whose obscure roots and trunk bring forth periodically a great display of leaves, which utilise terrestrial energy for a time and deposit their elaborated sap in the permanent portion of the larger individual organism of which they form the most conspicuous but temporary portion. This analogue suggests the possibility of another and another display of incarnate personality making its appearance at intervals, all based and dependent upon a single permanent foundation, and none of them identical though all are similar. This possibility, however, is no essential part of the theory.

The feeling of an enlarged personality, of which, in inspired moments, we are dimly conscious—when the sense of this bodily existence becomes dim, when self-consciousness has all but vanished, and when the mind attains a clearness impossible under ordinary conditions—this feeling has been expressed by poets in several passages, of which the following clearly autobiographical extract from Tennyson's 'Ancient Sage' is perhaps the best known:—

'And more, my son! for more than once when I  
Sat all alone, revolving in myself  
The word that is the symbol of myself,  
The mortal limit of the Self was loosed,  
And past into the Nameless, as a cloud  
Melts into Heaven, I touch'd my limbs; the limbs  
Were strange, not mine—and yet no shade of doubt,  
But utter clearness, and thro' loss of Self  
The gain of such large life as match'd with ours  
Were Sun to spark—unshadowable in words,  
Themselves but shadows of a shadow-world.'

It is in moments like these that the possibility of the death of the body resulting in extinction of consciousness, cessation of mental activity, and destruction of personality, takes on an appearance so incredible as to be almost absurd. The liberation of the incarnate part of ourselves from its present encasement is then realised as no kind of dissipation or destruction, but as a reunion with the permanent central larger self from which for a time we have been separated. That is the bearing of the doctrine of the subliminal self on the problem of human immortality or survival of bodily decay; and in the application of this view and working out in detail of the

whole scheme of vital faculty upon this basis lies Myers's chief contribution to psychology. For in whatever form it may come to be accepted, or whether it be ultimately accepted by psychologists or not, it is a good working hypothesis; it is the central thread running through the whole of his treatise; and by its aid many phenomena become linked together which else had been disparate and scattered.

To summarise briefly. The idea is that each personality, as manifested in the flesh, is but a small portion of a much larger whole; and that, underlying and supporting the conspicuous traits of incarnate individuality, there exists a massive completer self, which only very occasionally rises into prominence and makes its existence dimly felt. The surging up, as it were, into the conscious or planetary life of influences from the deeper or cosmic life occurs with some frequency in persons said to possess genius; it also exerts an influence on other persons in moments of clairvoyance; and it may act so as to produce visions and other hallucinatory experiences of the waking or normal self.

By aid of this hypothesis a great many things take on a form which is at least intelligible; whereas without such an idea it would be difficult even to state them without apparent absurdity, or without constantly necessitating the assumption of some sort of spirit-intervention and spirit-guidance. Myers recognises that every more normal kind of explanation must be tried, and if possible exhausted, before taking so new a scientific departure as that; and in relating his early attitude on the subject, he says:—

'It became gradually plain to me that before we could safely mark off any group of manifestations as definitely implying an influence from beyond the grave, there was need of a more searching review of the capacities of man's incarnate personality than psychologists unfamiliar with this new evidence had thought it worth their while to undertake.' (i, 9.)

It is often supposed by superficial persons that a wholesale acceptance of the semi-religious creed called spiritualism was the origin and the outcome of these researches, but Myers says:—

'This work of mine is in large measure a critical attack upon the main Spiritist position, as held, say, by Mr A. R.



Wallace, its most eminent living supporter—the belief, namely, that all, or almost all, supernormal phenomena are due to the action of spirits of the dead. By far the larger proportion, as I hold, are due to the action of the still embodied spirit of the agent or percipient himself. Apart from speculative differences, moreover, I altogether dissent from the conversion into a sectarian creed of what I hold should be a branch of scientific inquiry, growing naturally out of our existing knowledge. . . . My conception of a subliminal self will thus appear, not as an extravagant and needless, but as a limiting and rationalising, hypothesis, when it is applied to phenomena which at first sight suggest Mr Wallace's extremer view, but which I explain by the action of man's own spirit, without invoking spirits external to himself. I do not indeed say that the explanation here suggested is applicable in all cases, or to the complete exclusion of the spirit hypothesis. On the contrary, the one view gives support to the other. For these faculties of distant communication exist none the less, even though we should refer them to our own subliminal selves. We can, in that case, affect each other at a distance, telepathically; and if our incarnate spirits can act thus in at least apparent independence of the fleshly body, the presumption is strong that other spirits may exist independently of the body, and may affect us in similar manner.' (i, 6, 16.)

This is the position taken by the author of the second of the books in our initial list. Mr Podmore accepts many of the facts, which indeed lie in the path of any student who enters this tangled jungle of unexplored country, and perceives that for explanation the existence of telepathy, or some method of communication between minds otherwise than through known physical media and organs of sense, and by a process practically irrespective of distance, must be assumed; but he is wholly unwilling to go beyond the acceptance of this hypothesis. Hence, by spiritualists Mr Podmore is treated as an arch-sceptic; and his name is becoming proverbial for virulent agnosticism. Yet the fact of telepathy is at present by no means recognised by orthodox science; and by accepting facts which require such an explanation as this Mr Podmore lays himself equally open to the charge of too facile belief, if not of encouraging meaningless superstition. Telepathy as a theory stands half-way between the two-extremes. By some men of science it is regarded as a door which may open the way into an



altogether new and unwelcome territory, the examination of which may largely modify or even disturb many existing scientific ideas. Others, who have passed this barrier, prefer to look back upon it as to a splendid pass across some mountain range, which has opened to them a vista of new plains and valleys and fertilising streams. To those who are still looking up from the dry scientific plain the mountain looks cold and forbidding, and the pass utterly imaginary—the entrance only to a region of mist and cloud. Nevertheless the gate is there, and there is an accessible road to it; and it is on the discovery of this pass, and the finding of the track leading from one vast scientific country into another, that the Society for Psychical Research may rightly congratulate itself and hold that it has justified its existence hitherto.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of telepathy—if indeed it be once recognised as a natural fact; and Mr Podmore, in his learned and very critical and sceptical survey of the whole ground of ultranormal psychical phenomena, as recorded in the past and the present, and in this and other countries, is constrained not only to accept the fact of telepathy, but to press it (as some think) to an extreme degree, in order to account in any rational way for some of the facts which, being unable to doubt on the evidence, he is constrained to admit.

But in making this admission of telepathy as a *vera causa* in psychical science, he is opening the flood-gates to a torrent of new ideas; and Myers enthusiastically claims for it a perennial importance above that of any other scientific fact, for he begins to suspect that it means far more than merely one more channel of communication here and now between human beings on the earth; he surmises that it is the connecting link uniting all intelligences in the universe, whether incarnate or not—a link even between human and divine; that it furnishes a key to the meaning of prayer, a rational interpretation of its efficacy, and a practical justification of its use; and that it lies at the root of what to him seemed so genuine a reality, the 'communion of saints.'

'In the law of telepathy, developing into the law of spiritual intercommunication between incarnate and discarnate spirits, we see dimly adumbrated before our eyes the highest law with which our human science can conceivably have to deal.

The discovery of telepathy opens before us a potential communication between all life. And if, as our present evidence indicates, this telepathic intercourse can subsist between embodied and disembodied souls, that law must needs lie at the very centre of cosmic evolution. It will be evolutionary, as depending on a faculty now in actual course of development. It will be cosmic, for it may—it almost *must*—by analogy subsist not on this planet only, but wherever in the universe discarnate and incarnate spirits may be intermingled or juxtaposed.' (ii, 258.)

Mr Podmore, however, does not accept the possibility of what is here conceived as telepathy apart from bodies and brains. To him it appears a reality between human beings on the earth, even between persons at a distance who have never known each other; but as to regarding it as a communicating agency between relatives deceased and the survivors, or as furnishing any indication of the fact of survival, he declines to view the matter in that light; and it is interesting thus to find a man who has immersed himself in the evidence, and is yet able to stand out against those proofs of spiritual intercourse and individual survival which to Myers appeared so cogent.

So also Dr Walter Leaf, who has been a student of the evidence, and accepts a multitude of the facts, by no means finds himself convinced of the survival of vivid personality after death. He seems to regard it as more like a process of gradual extinction or absorption, following on what we call death; loss of individuality in the general world-soul. The truth is that these questions of belief are very complex, and belief is not to be coerced by facts. The impression which the facts make upon a receiver differs according to the properties and previous training of that receiver—a circumstance to which there are many analogies in physical science.

The importance of Myers's work is not that it compels belief in a specific human destiny and leaves no scope for religious faith—it leaves these eschatological questions open—but that it attempts a scientific co-ordination of, and introduces the elements of arrangement into, what else had been a rubbish-heap.

The attitude of these psychical pioneers to orthodox science is one of reverent admiration. They welcome the Darwinian discovery of evolutionary processes, at least in

its broad outlines and general idea, with open arms; but they put in a plea for a still wider outlook over the whole process of evolution; they urge that the faculties which have been developed to suit this terrestrial temporary frame of things are not to be regarded as marking the limit of development or of adaptation to environment; and they discern in some obscure faculties, of which the human race is dimly conscious, the nascent promise or germ of higher faculties adapted to a further stage of development, and of adaptation to some other phase of all the future environments possible in an infinite universe.

Adaptation to an environment is one thing; discovery of an environment is another. Animals, including man, have had to do the one; to man it has been given to begin the other. Environments unknown and long unsuspected have been found to surround him. First, the stellar universe; next, the etherial universally connecting medium; and now, dimly beginning, the scientific recognition of that great region of the spiritual, in which his psychical nature has all the time been immersed, whence indeed it partly originates, and whither in due course it will return.

In mentioning the two books together we are not suggesting that they are similar, or that they stand on any sort of equality. One is a history, a narrative of facts, with an undercurrent of destructive criticism running through it; the other aims at laying the foundation of a scientific scheme, which is more particularly to be found tabulated between pages 505 and 555 of vol. ii; and they differ also in the hypotheses which they are willing to accept in order to account for a very similar series of facts. Both deal in the proper place with those trance-messages, or unconscious utterances or writings, of a person in that condition of ultranormal, but often unconscious, lucidity, which, with some exceptional persons, accompanies certain medically recognised states, and by others can be entered upon with spontaneous ease. But, while the generally confused and sometimes trivial contents of such messages lead Mr Podmore to suppose them the product solely of subliminal activity, stimulated in some cases by telepathy from persons present, or occasionally from unknown persons absent, or even from documents existing somewhere in the neighbourhood,

Myers, on the other hand, considered the contents and manner of some of the utterances to be just what might naturally be expected if they were really messages coming from another state of existence through machinery adapted to communication in our present state. Consequently he became gradually convinced, allowing to the full for subliminal activity, that some of the communications at any rate were what they purported to be; and accordingly he felt very grateful to those friends of his, such as Mrs Thompson of Hampstead, who, during her temporary access of power, enabled him to get into some sort of communication, as he believed, with those who had gone before.

It is no easy matter to decide beforehand on what would be a crucial proof of survival of personality; it turns out an exceedingly hard thing to demonstrate. Messages purporting to come from a deceased person, containing facts known to some survivor, and superficially conclusive of surviving intelligence and memory, are not really sufficient; for they can subsequently be supposed to have been derived either by hunting up records, or, if that is out of the question, then by telepathy from the survivor. If they are known to no one, they can hardly be verified; if it should happen that, by subsequent discovery, say, of hidden objects, they are verified, and if telepathy is excluded—no easy matter—their abnormal perception can then be set down to a sort of general clairvoyance, access as it were to a universal world-soul, or some other vague phrase of that kind. A crucial test of survival against such hypotheses as these seems impossible. Yet it must be admitted that a patient study of human faculty of all kinds has led students to perceive certain permanent and cosmic elements in it, such as cannot receive their full development in this sublunary sphere, but must be taken as the germs of faculties to be developed elsewhere or hereafter.

Concerning the future of faculties which, in their present stage, are useless, and concerning the comparative insignificance of much which to many here and now seems all important, Myers propounds the following striking parable:—

'An often-quoted analogy has here a closer application than is often apprehended. The grub comes from the egg

laid by a winged insect, and a winged insect it must itself become; but meantime it must, for the sake of its own nurture and preservation, acquire certain larval characters—characters sometimes so complex that the observer may be excused for mistaking that larva for a perfect insect, destined for no further change save death. Such larval characters, acquired to meet the risks of a temporary environment, I seem to see in man's earthly strength and glory. I see the human analogues of the poisonous tufts which choke the captor, the attitudes of mimicry which suggest an absent sting, the "death's-head" coloration which disconcerts a stronger foe. But meantime the adaptation to aerial life is going on; something of the imago or perfect insect is preformed within the grub; and in some species, even before they sink into their transitional slumber, the rudiments of wings, still helpless, protrude awkwardly beneath the larval skin.' (i, 97.)

To stigmatise strange dream-like faculties as useless, the enquiry into them as futile, and the evidence for them as trivial, is an easy matter. Such charges have often been thoughtlessly brought against this particular variety of psychological study, as they have been against the corresponding portions of biology. With reference to them Myers remarks:—

'In investigating those faculties we have been in no wise deterred by the fact of the apparent uselessness of some of them for our waking ends. *Useless* is a prescientific, even an anti-scientific term, which has perhaps proved a greater stumbling-block to research in psychology than in any other science. In science the *use* of phenomena is to prove laws, and the more bizarre and trivial the phenomena the greater the chance of their directing us to some law which has been overlooked till now.' (i, 150.)

The scientific examination of these subjects is opposed by two classes of objectors. One set urge that the phenomena are too elusive and uncertain to be capable of scientific treatment at all; another set feel that they are so sacred that any touch of science would profane them. These hold that by faith these great truths can be grasped, and in no other way; and that if ever they could be scientifically demonstrated and apprehended their value and aroma would be gone. It is possible to sympathise with this objection without admitting it as conclusive. No artificial restriction ought to be placed upon

the operations of science; there should be no limit to the effort after ordered knowledge, except the limit of impossibility. If things can be known, they ought to be known; and it is a strange idea that the human race can ever sacrilegiously disinter truths of which they were intended to be ignorant. Such an idea is the outcome of superstition and essential faithlessness. Some part of the region now dominated wholly by religion may some day become partially subject to science, but there is plenty more. Suppose, by the progress of science, a continuance of existence and of individuality and personality beyond bodily death were some day conclusively demonstrated, though at present we may not even be able to formulate a scheme by which the demonstration could possibly be effected, without leaving the door open to some kind of alternative hypothesis; is that to be supposed to clip the wings of faith and religious emotion, and bring them down ignominiously to earth? Those who think so must have a poverty-stricken view of the possibilities of the universe, and of the infinitude always lying beyond the range of any actual knowledge. No matter how far science advances, its advance is necessarily finite; it encroaches no whit upon infinity; and it is in that infinity that the spirits of the poet, of the mystic, of the saint, must make their home; thence it is that they draw their spiritual nutriment, and thence they catch glimpses of beauty and of laws higher than anything that bare science can conceive. There lives the spirit of music, of beauty, of love, of holiness; and thence some of those children of men, gifted as we say with genius, may draw down, for us earth-plodders and scientific workers, a supply of enlivening and quickening grace.

We said that Myers's book left eschatological questions undecided; that is to say, the book is not likely to convince any one who, on other grounds, is not already convinced; and the stream of facts and commentary, though it may in some particulars modify opinions already held, has been found in many cases merely to confirm them as to their main purport. But to himself they had a profound significance, and led him not only to believe joyfully in a future state, but to formulate to himself ideas about the conditions of that state of a very optimistic character. It is not to be supposed that our readers will



follow him in these ideas and opinions, but it is a part of his life not to be blinked, and it so manifestly colours all the more enthusiastic and positive portions of these volumes that it must be allowed a place in any review of them. In the first place he felt that there was a singular unanimity of meaning and interpretation running through all the diverse forms of evidence from wheresoever collected, and that that meaning was an essentially sound and wholesome one:—

‘Our narratives have been collected from men and women of many types, holding all varieties of ordinary opinion. Yet the upshot of all these narratives is to emphasise a point which profoundly differentiates the scientific from the superstitious view of spiritual phenomena. The terror which shaped primitive theologies still tinges for the populace every hint of intercourse with disembodied souls. The transmutation of savage fear into scientific curiosity is of the essence of civilisation. Towards that transmutation each separate fragment of our evidence, with undesigned concordance, indisputably tends. In that faintly opening world of spirit I can find nothing worse than living men; I seem to discern not an intensification but a disintegration of selfishness, malevolence, pride. And is not this a natural result of any cosmic moral evolution? If the selfish man (as Marcus Antoninus has it) “is a kind of boil or imposthume upon the universe,” must not his egoistic impulses suffer in that wider world a sure, even if a painful, decay; finding no support or sustenance among those permanent forces which maintain the stream of things?’ (ii, 78.)

In the second place Myers surmised that the conditions of a future life, though different from our own, were not revolutionarily different. Personality, for instance, was continued and not changed. Its environment, and hence its communicating methods and organs, so to speak, were changed; but the individual remained, and carried with him his virtues and his vices, his aptitudes and mental powers—his character, in fact, as developed here, enlarged, no doubt, by a greater influx of the subliminal, but essentially for a long time the same individual as we knew him, though now adapted to an etherial and not a material environment, provided, nevertheless, with a kind of semi-bodily existence; a sort of etherial or, as some would say, spiritual body still in fact subsisting.



All this, though in a sense corresponding with some orthodox teaching in the religious world, may, to the scientific, seem too fanciful a thesis upon which to quote any illustrative extracts; but the author must bear the burden of his opinions:—

‘In dealing with matters which lie outside human experience, our only clue is some attempt at *continuity* with what we already know. We cannot, for instance, form independently a reliable conception of life in an unseen world. That conception has never yet been fairly faced from the standpoint of our modern ideas of continuity, conservation, evolution. The main notions that have been framed of such survival have been framed first by savages and then by *a priori* philosophers. To the man of science the question has never yet assumed enough of actuality to induce him to consider it with scientific care. He has contented himself, like the mass of mankind, with some traditional theory, some emotional preference for some such picture as seems to him satisfying and exalted. Yet he knows well that this subjective principle of choice has led in history to the acceptance of many a dogma which to more civilised perceptions seems in the last degree blasphemous and cruel.’ (ii, 251.)

Meanwhile the author eloquently summons us to contemplate the future of the terrestrial human race itself with the largest sweep of horizon and from the highest point of view. He has no patience with those who speak as if the end of our age were at hand, or as if it were impossible to maintain much longer the rate of progress in knowledge achieved during the last century, or as if, for lack of definite information, we must needs take refuge in speculation and tradition and hesitating inference. To him the human race is young, the whole of human history but a recent outburst upon the planet, which for millions of years had been preparing for the budding intelligence of which we are now conscious; over conscious perhaps—regarding it, not as the beginning or middle, but as the end of a long era of evolution. Thus he expresses himself:—

‘Out of the long Stone Age our race is awakening into consciousness of itself. We stand in the dawn of history. Behind us lies a vast and unrecorded waste—the mighty struggle *humanam condere gentem*. Since the times of that

ignorance we have not yet gone far ; a few thousand years, a few hundred thinkers, have barely started the human mind upon the great æons of its onward way. It is not yet the hour to sit down in our studies and try to eke out Tradition with Intuition—as one might be forced to do in a planet's senility, by the glimmer of a fading sun. "Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus?" The traditions, the intuitions of our race, are themselves in their infancy ; and before we abandon ourselves to brooding over them, let us at least first try the upshot of a systematic search for actual facts. For what should hinder? If our inquiry lead us first through a jungle of fraud and folly, need that alarm us? As well might Columbus have yielded to the sailors' panic when he was entangled in the Sargasso Sea. If our first clear facts about the Unseen World seem small and trivial, should that deter us from the quest? As well might Columbus have sailed home again, with America in the offing, on the ground that it was not worth while to discover a continent which manifested itself only by dead logs.' (ii, 306.)

Even the unpromising subject of hysteria, as studied in the hospital of La Salpêtrière in Paris—the wretched condition of women with fragmentary memories, abortive powers, localised absence of sensation, incomplete control over muscles, and the like—is pressed into the service and made to act as a parable to suggest further immense possibilities lying before the human race on this planet ; lying still more plainly before the individual man, in his future history, amid whatever surroundings and through whatever stages he may hereafter have to pass on his endless career. Speaking of his survey of human faculties as at present developed, he says :—

'But when we shall have completed the survey here indicated, we shall see, I think, how significant are the phenomena of hysteria in any psychological scheme which aims at including the hidden powers of man. For much as the hysteric stands in comparison with us ordinary men, so perhaps do we ordinary men stand in comparison with a not impossible ideal of faculty and of self-control.

'For might not all the hysteric tale be told, *mutato nomine*, of the whole race of mortal men? What assurance have we that from some point of higher vision we men are not as these shrunken and shadowed souls? Suppose that we had all been a community of hysterics ; all of us together subject to these shifting losses of sensation, these inexplicable gaps of memory,

these sudden defects and paralyses of movement and of will. Assuredly we should soon have argued that our actual powers were all with which the human organism was or could be endowed. We should have thought it natural that nervous energy should only just suffice to keep attention fixed upon the action which at the moment we needed to perform.

'... Nay, if we had been a populace of hysterics we should have acquiesced in our hysteria. We should have pushed aside as a fantastic enthusiast the fellow-sufferer who strove to tell us that this was not all that we were meant to be. As we now stand—each one of us "*totus, teres, atque rotundus*" in his own esteem—we see at least how cowardly would have been that contentment, how vast the ignored possibilities, the forgotten hope. Yet who assures us that even here and now we have developed into the full height and scope of our being? A moment comes when the most beclouded of these hysterics has a glimpse of the truth. A moment comes when, after a profound slumber, she wakes into an *instant clair*, a flash of full perception which shows her as solid, vivid realities all that she has in her bewilderment been apprehending phantasmally as a dream. Ἐξ ὁνείρου δ' αὐτίκα ἦν ἕπαρ. Is there for us also any possibility of a like resurrection into reality and day? Is there for us any sleep so deep that waking from it after the likeness of perfect man we shall be satisfied, and shall see face to face, and shall know even as also we are known?' (i, 67.)

Opinions as to the value of these studies, and the possibility of making them in any sense a branch of science, will for a time differ; scepticism as to many of the facts, and hesitation as to the meaning and conclusions to be drawn from those which are accepted, will for a long time prevail; but doubtless they all have a meaning could we decipher it. As serious, able, and learned efforts to incorporate a new and strange region within the scientific frontier, these works deserve respect; and the theories which they advance are not to be laughed out of court without previous intelligence and careful examination.

OLIVER LODGE.

# Art. XI.—RELIGION AND THE POOR.

*Life and Labour of the People in London. Third series : Religious Influences.* By Charles Booth. Seven vols. London : Macmillan, 1902.

A GREAT change has passed over the attitude of thoughtful men towards the Christian religion. Until within quite recent times there was little disposition to criticise its claim to be the divinely ordained remedy for all social ills. Of course there were, probably there always have been, sections of society in which free-thinking and free-speaking about religion have prevailed; but, except perhaps during part of the eighteenth century, these sections have been by no means numerous or influential. They have lain outside the main body of educated English opinion, and have commonly drawn to themselves general suspicion and dislike. The French Revolution, coinciding in point of time with a great religious revival within England, seemed to add the most impressive and indeed terrible confirmation to the testimony of Christian evangelists. Political and national feeling rallied to the Christian cause; and the criticism of Christianity took on in English minds a dark and disreputable aspect. From a different standpoint, archæological and romantic rather than historical and religious, the novelists, poets, and churchmen of the post-revolutionary period saw in Christianity something which was too high for criticism. The scientific reaction followed, and its strength testified to the force of the conservatism which provoked it.

The middle of the nineteenth century was an intense and high-minded period, and, as such, had little in common with the coarse and mundane age which followed the accession of George I; but it has at least this point of similarity that it also was a period in which the educated opinion of the country was very generally hostile to Christianity. The last generation has witnessed an astonishing return to religious standpoints and ideals; and now there are signs that this phase also is passing, and being succeeded by another less vehement than its predecessors, a phase in which Christianity is regarded without resentment and without enthusiasm, but rather in a temper of sober and anxious inquiry. Thoughtful

men receive with almost equal impatience the rhetorical eulogy of Christian apologists and the denunciations of their opponents, and ask only for the facts. It is felt that the case for Christianity must be founded not in the past, but in the present. 'The ages of faith' are at a discount. Exact reasoning is hardly less discredited. Society is seen to be too robust for the one and too complex for the other. Theories count for little; results count for much. Christianity must be judged without prejudice on its merits, as a practical force in the national life; and the evidence which alone can be admitted as determining the verdict of just and reasonable men must be the evidence of well authenticated facts. We might almost sum up the changes of attitude which have made themselves apparent among us in the course of the last century, by saying shortly that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Christianity in England was regarded as above criticism, in the middle as beneath criticism, and at the end as a subject for criticism.

Of this final stage a notable evidence is the series of volumes named at the head of this article. Mr Charles Booth has undertaken, for the first time, a scientific inquiry into Christianity as it actually exists—a social factor of immense range, variety, and power, touching human life at many points, and leaving on society deep and abiding impressions. Mr Booth appears to be exceptionally well qualified for the difficult task to which he has addressed himself. He brings to it an unparalleled familiarity with the secular conditions of popular life in London, a habit of patient and exact investigation, personal acquaintance with a large number of those engaged in religious work, and above all, a cool, just, and sympathetic judgment, the least likely in the world to be biassed by the mere appearances of things, or led astray by irrelevant personal preferences and impressions. On the shelves of our libraries we have many eloquent, learned, and, in various degrees, successful inquiries into the part played by the Christian religion in the development of Western civilisation. Mr Booth has given us the first instalment of what will be probably a no less extensive, and certainly no less interesting literature, which will take for its subject the Christian religion, not in the past, but in the present. We have read these volumes with

unflagging interest, and with an admiration, which steadily waxes, for the care, caution, and unvarying kindness which marks the author's method. Accepting his version of the facts as, in the main, faithful, and avoiding, as unsuitable for these pages, any detailed examination of the evidence he has accumulated, we propose briefly to state the general impression made on us by a careful perusal of these notable volumes.

It may be observed at the outset that, in choosing London as the sphere of his inquiry, Mr Booth has not only utilised his own unrivalled knowledge of metropolitan life, but also secured a presentation of Christianity under conditions at once the most difficult from the standpoint of religious work, and the most representative from that of the social student. Modern society, as every census shows, is becoming more and more urban. Forces which seem quite beyond the control of governments are drawing the rural population into the towns; and London is but a colossal exhibition of a process of aggregation which is operative throughout the whole area of Western civilisation.

The industrial development of society during the last two centuries has revolutionised human life. Christianity is still in process of adapting itself to the new conditions; and nowhere has that process been so long and so ardently carried on as in the greatest of Teutonic cities, the very centre and flower of industrial society, vast, various, enigmatic London. And while the problem to be solved is thus presented to view more completely in London than elsewhere, so the resources of Christianity available for the task of its solution are there most fully displayed. Nowhere else, surely, is the religion of Christ expressed in so many and so various organisations; every kind of evangelistic experiment is attempted in an atmosphere of benevolent toleration, and on a plane of equal public consideration. All the churches, from the oldest and strictest to the youngest and least dogmatically discriminating, are here hard at work, and all are represented by their ablest and most enthusiastic leaders. For London is the great magnet of every kind of distinction; and, as in the regions of social and economic life, so in those of spiritual and philanthropic activity, it draws to itself the most commanding personalities and



exhibits the extremest contrasts of method and fortune. The student of Christianity as a social force could not be better placed than in London for the pursuit of his studies. There is no type or variety of urban condition that cannot be found within the area over which Mr Booth has carried his protracted and painstaking investigations.

It must be said frankly that the general effect of these volumes is disappointing and depressing. Perhaps the author himself hardly realises the execution he has done among the assumptions and ideals of the religious public. His own conclusions are indeed far more optimistic than a perusal of his reports seems to justify. The monotonous succession of records of failure through which the student travels indisposes him, perhaps, for taking a just account of the mitigations which are never wholly wanting; and certainly the concluding volume, in which the author gathers up his own impressions, is the least depressing of the series.

The despotism of class everywhere emerges. It is the sustained note of the whole work. There is, we learn, 'a great gulf fixed' between the religion of Christ and those who fall below an economic line. The theory of the Gospel may be still what it was at the first, that social distinctions lose all meaning within the kingdom of grace; but in point of fact that theory has no practical expression, and this, not because among Christian people there is any reluctance to make it the law of life, but because there are impersonal and undefinable social forces which prohibit fraternity within the Church of Christ, or rather, to speak more exactly, reduce the Church of Christ itself to a class institution, and establish on the threshold to the spiritual kingdom social and economic barriers which no sacred logic may cut through and no spiritual enthusiasm may overpass.

The pathos of the situation lies in the fact that never, since the Apostolic age itself, did the followers of Christ in all the churches more entirely accept His fraternal teaching, or more firmly believe in the power of His gospel to overcome all the obstacles of human ignorance, selfishness, and misfortune. No words are more frequent in Mr Booth's pages than 'failure' and 'delusion.' He shows us multitudes of Christian men and women fighting



a losing battle with the sin and indifference of a vast city, and so absorbed in the desperate strain of conflict as not to perceive that the day is going against them. What volumes of sacred eloquence, of religious enthusiasm, of self-forgetting effort, are disallowed, sterilised, and, so to say, reduced to absurdity, when it has to be admitted that Christianity, like culture, makes its appeal only to a limited section of the people; and that, in spite of its brave universalism and its imposing divine pretensions, it is only one among the sum of human interests, competing with the rest under equal conditions for human acceptance.

Not only is religious success rigidly determined by social conditions, but the very efforts made to escape from this humbling and unpalatable fact appear to draw in their train social consequences of doubtful value. All the churches are engaged in the attempt to Christianise the poor, and all go to their work with the conviction that the gospel which they preach, if but it be fairly presented, will command acceptance. Confronted on the one hand by the almost unanimous apathy of the poor, and on the other hand by the painful and suggestive squalor of their circumstances, and moreover, finding in the record of the divine Founder's life, the most authoritative precedent conceivable for combining the spiritual message with physical benefits, Christians of all the churches have associated their preaching of the gospel with the more or less organised and efficient relief of distress. Their intentions have been excellent, their justifications are apparent and plausible, but their success, on their own showing, has been infinitesimal; and we are told that it has been secured at a heavy cost of social mischief. Mr Booth is never tired of denouncing the disorganised, unorganised, and badly organised distribution of relief which proceeds from religious centres throughout London.

No church is guiltless in this matter; but there are degrees in guilt. Of one mission in East London we are told that it

'lives mainly on the struggle between Protestantism and Ritualism, and beyond rousing what, no doubt, is quite genuine Protestant feeling, maintains its position chiefly by the distribution of food and coals.' (i, 21.)

Of the large Nonconformist churches in north-eastern London, the success, we learn, 'in every case,' is

'philanthropic and eleemosynary rather than religious; and, except for the Sunday-schools, the benefit to the people is doubtful.' (i, 94.)

The Eton mission represents a 'lavish expenditure of men and means,' which moves the envy of its neighbours, but 'its religious influence is evidently very slight' (i, 97). In the same district another Anglican mission, 'run on strongly ecclesiastical lines by the Merchant Taylors' School,' carries on work 'of a frankly proselytising character,' and (an unparalleled fact) finds its own district visitors unduly anxious to encourage thrift (i, 100). In North London both the Church and the Nonconformists fail to touch the people with their respective gospels; and both exert a dubious influence by almsgiving, which, in their own judgment, is morally indistinguishable from bribery (i, 134). The more flourishing district of north-west London exhibits the same melancholy spectacle, wherever the churches attempt the desperate task of evangelising the poor. In this competition it is admitted that there is nothing to choose between the chapels and the churches. It is to be feared that the poor lend themselves to it (i, 175). In the Lisson Grove area of Marylebone there is a brisk competition of religious agencies; and 'the attempt to get relief is spoken of a little cynically as "one of the minor industries"' (i, 201). The proselytising zeal of the 'Kilburn Sisters' and the Sisters of the 'Church Extension' is matched by that of 'an aggressive gospel agency started on purpose to combat the rising tide of Romanism' in the neighbourhood of St John's Wood.

'In addition to attacking Romanism, and preaching the Gospel according to their lights, they enter boldly into competition with the Sisters of the Church Extension in supplying food and firing to the poor, and point with pride to the thousands of free meals and hundreds of tons of coal dispensed, together with soup seemingly *ad libitum*.' (i, 209.)

In the older districts of East London—Spitalfields, Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, St George's in the East—the habit of almsgiving in connexion with religion is long established; and, as a natural consequence, the population

is thoroughly pauperised. It is not necessary to multiply evidences of a state of things which is notorious. These cases are representative of the whole work among the poor described in these volumes, and they suggest melancholy and humiliating reflections.

The effect of this universal association of religion and relief is indeed, in many directions, most unfortunate. That the poor should be induced to listen to a gospel which they find so profitable, might be expected; but that the preachers should themselves be lowered by their demoralising philanthropy is not at first sight so apparent; and yet this result is not less certain than the other. For relief is a costly evangelistic method. The only source from which money can be obtained is the general religious public; and that source can only be reached by the means, borrowed from contemporary commerce, of sensational advertising. Of all advertisements, those are financially the most fruitful which harrow the feelings and announce exceptional success. So into the process there enters an element of sentimental exaggeration, which easily passes into a habit of unconscious mendacity. The most melancholy religious literature in the world, perhaps, is that of which Mr Booth makes much use, the mass of reports issued by religious evangelists advertising their work in order to pay their way. An overestimate of their own work is perhaps, at least in part, the consequence of their devotion; but even so, it is an unwholesome circumstance, and should be, by every possible means, held in check. But evangelistic work in London proceeds in an atmosphere of competitive exaggeration, barely concealed by a veneer of religious phraseology, which always tends to be professional, and easily degenerates into the most nauseous cant.

Moreover, competition is not favourable to brotherly love; and the competition of the churches, stimulated by the exigencies of philanthropic advertisement, stimulates in turn a sectarian bitterness which would otherwise die out before the reconciling influences of common work and common life, and brings to the front in all the churches men of the zealous denominational type, in whom the instincts of business have dwarfed or even destroyed the higher sentiments of discipleship. When

all is done that genius can suggest and zeal effect, the religiously responsive section of the pauperised poor remains severely limited; and this is all on which the competing evangelists can rely for those results which are to give their most attractive feature to the annual appeal for funds. Districts, households, even individuals, are fought for by eager rivals; and we are assured that this disreputable conflict is hardly less debasing to the combatants than to the subjects of contention.

Mr Booth distributes his censure with an even hand, but he makes it clear that the worst results are reached where the proselytising motive is strongest, and where that motive is most effectually stimulated by denominational competition. Absorbed in their efforts to bring the people, by hook or by crook, within their folds, the zealots of denominationalism are blind not only to the mischiefs to character and social order which their method entails, but also to the plain lessons of their own failure. If the interests at stake were not so solemn and important, the candid observer might find the spectacle of denominational strife actually ludicrous. There is, in truth, something grimly humorous about some of our author's descriptions, though, when we remember what prodigies of abortive effort and sacrifice are created by the passion for denominational orthodoxy which glows in Anglican sisters and Protestant zealots of all kinds, we are more disposed to weep than to laugh. The waste of heroic material is appalling.

Denominational self-conceit, indeed, ought to have received its death-blow in these volumes. Whatever else may be doubtful, this at least is clear, that, in the process of Christianising the population of London, all denominations are equally helpless, as such. The familiar and confident assertions, inspired by sectarian credulity rather than sober conviction based on knowledge of the facts, which have created, by the force of incessant iteration, almost a general belief that the vagaries of ritualism, or the vulgarities of the Salvation Army, or the unmitigated platitudes of Evangelicalism can alone win a way for the eternal gospel in the hearts of the poor, are shown to be utterly baseless. Generally it appears that, *ceteris paribus*, ritualism has less chance

than any form of Protestantism, because it wakes against itself a deep, unarguable dislike, hardly ever absent from English minds, against every approach to 'sacerdotal' pretensions. For the rest, all the churches are able to influence the poor only by their 'social' efforts. However ardently religious may be the intentions with which the work begins, however firmly convinced of the power of their spiritual message the workers may be, sooner or later, under the inexorable pressure of the facts, the religious element drops into the background and is replaced by the social.

The most remarkable example of this inevitable and almost universal process is provided by the Salvation Army. Perhaps no movement has more confidently claimed to work on purely spiritual lines. Its original programme was inspired by the conviction that, if only the simple gospel could be effectively brought within the audience of the poor, its own divine power would secure acceptance. What are the facts which Mr Booth discloses? In several places he points out, what the present writer can confirm by his own inquiries, that the principal success of the Salvation Army has been gained by the method of 'sheep-stealing.'

'The soldiers' (he says) 'are, to a great extent, drawn from those who belong, or have belonged, to some other dissenting body, and demand a stronger expression of religion.' (i, 85.)

The sensational methods adopted by General Booth soon lost their effect when they ceased to be novel and to provoke opposition. Such entries as these are scattered through the volumes before us: the efforts of the Salvation Army in outer East London 'meet with little success' (i, 43); 'the small Salvation Army corps in and about Hackney are not successful' (i, 94); 'the Salvationists are there [at Tottenham] unheeded' (i, 104); 'the Salvation Army, when they first came [to a low district in North London], were pelted with stones and rubbish, but later were disregarded, and now no longer come' (i, 145); the Salvation Army

'described Lisson Grove as a "coal and bread-ticket place," and because they found it hopeless, from the religious point of view, turned their huge hall into a night-shelter and food depôt.' (i, 203.)

In Whitechapel and St George's the Army,

'though it began its work in this neighbourhood, and though its soldiers still march through the streets at times with drum and tambourine, is now of little importance as a religious influence, but has turned towards its "social wing" the marvellous energies and powers of organisation and the devoted work it commands.' (ii, 42.)

Mr Booth, certainly, has no prejudice against the Salvation Army; he writes a final estimate of its history and work which is thoroughly sympathetic and appreciative; but he cannot avoid the conclusion that, in spite of many excellencies, it also has failed in the object which all the churches make the goal of their efforts.

'The Army has been entirely successful in bringing the gospel of salvation freshly and simply to the notice of all, and especially to the notice of the classes standing aloof. This being so, it becomes the more remarkable that, as regards spreading the Gospel in London in any broad measure, the movement has altogether failed.' (vii, 326.)

We have called special attention to the case of the Salvation Army because, of all the denominations, it has advanced the greatest claims and made the completest surrender of them. But all the churches are in the same predicament. Their success is precisely determined by their ability to provide satisfaction for the social needs of their members. In the fashionable sections of society public worship is buttressed in popular regard by the extraneous attractions of costly music and singing; a little lower in the social scale, congregations are more eager for political discussion, commonly of a vehement partisan character, and in the churches of their choice they get what they want. Below the middle class, all the churches, as we have seen, are powerless; and, in the lowest, they all become agencies of well-intentioned but, for the most part, mischievous almsgiving.

Powerless to penetrate the prejudices and overcome the social hindrances of adults, all the churches have devoted themselves to the care and teaching of children. Here, at least, there is no difficulty in securing attention; every spiritual method, from the confessional of the ritualist to the tambourines of 'corybantic Christianity,'



may be tried with equal facility and equal acceptance. London children are curiously receptive and quite wonderfully catholic. An acute observer has wittily described the fellaheen of Egypt as 'the blotting-pads of civilisation'; with no less propriety the children of the slums may be called 'the blotting-pads of denominationalism.' The field of religious experiment being thus open, the churches have hastened to occupy it; and their efforts have secured an immense apparent success. Sunday-schools are everywhere crowded; 'children's Masses' present edifying exhibitions of well-disciplined devotion; an infinite variety of expedients for amusing the young, counteracting the normal influences of their too often deplorable homes, building up their bodies in health, and their characters in the habit of self-respect, engages the affectionate and continuous interest of multitudes of religious people. The assumption on which everything proceeds is that the efforts bestowed on the children will bear fruit later; and who shall venture to say that it will not? Who will doubt that men and women must be the better for having had at the start of their lives so much solicitude and unselfish care bestowed on them? Yet, certainly, from the denominational standpoint, results are strangely disappointing. So soon as the children are old enough to pass under the influence of the prevailing irreligion of their class, they seem to be quite powerless to resist it. The careful teachings and devotional practices of childhood fall off from them without difficulty; and, so far as religious observance goes, they become as indifferent as their parents.

It is time, however, that we turn to the brighter suggestions which a more careful perusal of Mr Booth's volumes may perhaps discover. And, first of all, in spite of failure, delusion, blunder, and even scandal, the picture set before us offers an impressive demonstration of the moral power of Christianity. We see a vast multitude of men and women led by their creed to surrender themselves to the risks and sacrifices of the noblest crusade which was ever preached in the name of religion or accepted by religious men. The ill success which everywhere attends their efforts only brings into greater prominence the quenchless ardour of Christian faith which inspires the workers. It is evident that the



genius of Christianity is incorrigibly altruistic; and no amount of congregational prosperity can induce Christian people to make a ring-fence about their denominational Zion and leave the world to its fate. It will come as a discovery to many that the great Nonconformist congregations in London are the centres of pastoral work amongst the poor differing in no respect from, and not inferior in quality to, that which has long been held to be the distinctive excellence of the parish system. Systematic visitation from house to house is the favourite method of all the churches, and perhaps, when all is said, the most effective. Christianity, it is evident, through all its denominational developments, retains the character of the greatest factory of philanthropic motive known to human experience. Mistaken the methods may be, and indeed probably are; but this need not alarm us, for they can always be corrected in the future, as they have been in the past. A review of Christian effort certainly justifies the largest confidence in Christian versatility; but a failure of benevolent purpose, a dying-down of the sense of social responsibility in men's minds, a divorce acquiesced in between religious observance and altruistic effort—these would be indeed evil omens for the national future. It is precisely with respect to these that we are reassured by Mr Booth's researches; on every page he shows that of such omens there is as yet no sign.

Moreover, the demonstration of the power of Christianity to induce men to altruistic effort goes hand in hand with a disproof of all specific ecclesiastical claims. Contemporary experience is seen to add its confirmation to the accumulating testimonies of history and the clear suggestions of reason. Denominational claims have behind them no justification in public utility. The multiplication of ecclesiastical organisations is practically absurd as well as religiously harmful. All churches, in spite of their more or less exclusive claims, are doing the same work, and doing it, moreover, in the same way. The differences may seem real to the zealots of denominationism, but they are not differences of method so much as of names and aspects.

It is, indeed, true that a dividing line must be drawn between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic methods

of work; for it is not to be denied that a fundamental divergence of religious attitude underlies the distinctiveness of their systems; and it is not less true that a just view of the facts must include the ritualistic churches in one category with the Roman Catholics. But neither the Roman Catholics nor the Ritualists constitute a very important element in the problem; for, while the former are almost exclusively concerned with Irish, Italians, and Germans, the latter gather to a few well advertised centres congregations of a distinctive type which may be well left out of count. Thus these volumes ought to give a great impetus to the movement for the religious unity of English-speaking Protestants, which has commended itself to many thoughtful persons within recent years. Mr Booth himself speaks with decision on this subject, and he makes an appeal to the Church of England which ought not to be barren of result.

‘Some Nonconformists are no more willing than the Church to recognise “unauthorised preaching,” or to accept the theory advanced by one of themselves whom they had slighted, that “each one of us speaks with authority as he has it from above”; but the main trouble lies between the Established Church and those who cannot submit to her authority and pretensions. To her the complaints mainly apply, and hers is the opportunity to rise above sectional ideas, and assume the leadership. I do not hesitate to affirm that, in London, it lies neglected at her feet. To attain it, doctrinal authority, which she is powerless to wield, and mediæval pretensions, which may well be left to Rome, must, indeed, be abandoned. It would be a new departure, I grant; but no new organisation is required. To give to others their place would be to fill her own, and this not in London only, but as the mother-Church of all English-speaking nations.’ (vii, 421.)

These are weighty and not unhopeful words, and they point a moral which the friends of the Church of England cannot prudently ignore. Not in assisting and striving to justify the feverish vagaries of disordered zeal lies the duty of Anglican patriotism, but in frankly accepting a new and worthier conception of what a National Church is called to be and to attempt.

The candid reader will not refuse to recognise the notable testimony which Mr Booth bears to the personal excellence of the clergy in all the churches, and to the

almost universal purity of their administration of the very large funds entrusted to them by the religious public. For most of them it certainly cannot be said that 'godliness is a way of gain.' Whatever may be thought of the truth of the gospel which they preach, or of the wisdom of the methods which they adopt, their personal disinterestedness cannot, in most cases, be reasonably suspected. In the case of the Anglican clergy Mr Booth points out a few, a very few, scandals; and he clearly thinks that there is a certain amount of indolence. Incapacity he connects, reasonably enough, with the total absence of anything approaching to an efficient retirement system. Efficiency of a certain kind, of course, is secured by the Nonconformists, for an unpopular minister is quickly driven from office by the short and easy method of cutting off his income. Failures there certainly are among Nonconformist ministers, but they are astonishingly little in evidence. It must be remembered, moreover, that in their case there is nothing to prevent their falling back into secular occupations; and some of them, not, perhaps, always the best, succeed in gaining entrance into the ranks of the Established clergy. Making, however, all allowance for defects of system and personal failure, it remains true that the London clergy, as a body, are a respectable and laborious set of men. It may be doubted whether as much could have been said with the same confidence at any former time in the history of the Church in London.

Nor must the student of these volumes overlook the numerous examples of the redemptive power of individual goodness which they record. Your precise form of creed, Mr Booth would say, matters little, and your denominational description matters less, provided you give yourself, in the frank devotion of true service, to the people whom you aspire to help. There is the note of enthusiasm, all the more impressive because it is but rarely heard, in the account he gives of some remarkable apostolates of social work which he has discovered in the course of his inquiries. We may refer especially to the descriptions of Dr Gwyther's work in North London (i, 143); of 'Father' Wainwright's at St. Peter's, London Docks (ii, 35); and of the singularly beautiful devotion of a Roman Catholic lady, Mrs Despard, in Battersea (v, 153).

Success, indeed, even in these cases, he hesitates to affirm: it is hard to determine what ought to be reckoned as success. Perhaps we are permitted to believe that the mere proffering of such personal goodness, year in and year out, among the debased and almost bestial people who are huddled together in certain districts of London is itself the highest success within reach at present. 'The things that are not seen are eternal,' said the Christian apostle with reference to the apparent failure of the Church in its first enthusiasm to overcome the prejudices of a world grown old in evil; his words may, perhaps, fitly be applied to the case of religion in the desperate social wilderness of London. It cannot really be the case that all these martyrdoms of quiet, self-chosen, inglorious, repulsive toil for those who make no response, and seem to gather no advantage, can fail of result. It must be legitimate to believe that no element of goodness cast into the mingled chalice of human life is without its due effect; and that, in the final chapter of the world, the secret of the ages shall be the vindication of God.

Again and again Mr Booth interposes in his records of ecclesiastical failure the remark that such improvements of popular habits as he can discover are to be attributed mainly to non-religious agencies. Municipal authorities have done something, elementary schools have done much, private efforts to improve the conditions under which the people live have not been without effect. He points constantly to the two ubiquitous and, as yet, insoluble problems of London, the brooding, perpetual nightmares of social reformers and religious evangelists alike, viz. the 'housing question' and the drink traffic. Perhaps the most melancholy feature in the melancholy story told in these volumes is the failure of the protracted and many-sided efforts to grapple with overcrowding. The districts which in 1889 were occupied by a population 'living in poverty,' may—at least in the working-class districts where the congestion of coachmen and other dependents of the wealthy is unknown—be reasonably identified with those described in the more recent inquiry as 'crowded.' The percentages of these two descriptions are suggestive. Broadly, it is true to say that, within the period of ten years which parts Mr Booth's reports, the housing difficulty has in those districts become

worse rather than better. Here are the percentages for the poor districts :—

District.	Living in Poverty. 1880.	Crowded. 1900.
North-West . . . . .	27·2	35·3
Whitechapel and St George's in the East . . . . .	42·5	52·7
Bethnal Green, Haggerston, and part of Shoreditch . . . . .	45·4	52·6
Hoxton, St Luke's, and Clerkenwell . . . . .	45·4	53·3
West Central . . . . .	30·0	41·1
Westminster and South Pimlico . . . . .	34·3	38·6
The Inner West . . . . .	17·4	25·3
West Southwark and North Lambeth . . . . .	46·8	49·1
Newington and Walworth . . . . .	37·5	38·9

The extensive demolitions of bad property which have taken place within the last few years have either accumulated the evicted inhabitants in the remaining areas, or have scattered them to become apostles of degradation in yet uncontaminated districts. Both consequences are evil; and, so far, it is not seen how one or other is to be avoided. Yet in the discovery of some solution of the housing problem evidently lies the best hope of social improvement, and, as the crowning evidence of social improvement, the best hope of success for the churches. Mr Booth has provided the weightiest plea for 'Christian Socialism' we have yet encountered. We rise from the study of his gloomy but fascinating volumes with the suspicion, which, perhaps, along the lines of reflection which they suggest, might even grow into conviction, that Christianity must approach the brutalised masses indirectly, by reforming their conditions of existence before offering them its spiritual message.

H. HENSLEY HENSON.

# Art. XII.—MR CHAMBERLAIN'S FISCAL POLICY.

1. *Speeches by the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P.: at Birmingham, May 15; in the House of Commons, May 28; and at the Constitutional Club, June 26; as reported in the 'Times.'*
2. *Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions.* 1901. Two vols. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902. Also the volumes for preceding years.
3. *Statistical Abstract for the Principal and other Foreign Countries in each year from 1890 to 1899-1900.* Twenty-eighth Number. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902.
4. *Statistical Abstract for the Several Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom in each year from 1887 to 1901.* Thirty-ninth Number. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902.
5. *American Industrial Conditions and Competition: Reports of the Commissioners appointed by the British Iron Trade Association to inquire into the Iron, Steel, and Allied Industries of the United States.* Edited by J. Stephen Jeans. London: Offices of the British Iron Trade Association, 1902.

BEFORE discussing the new fiscal policy that has been propounded by Mr Chamberlain and provisionally concurred in by Mr Balfour, it is necessary to ascertain as precisely as possible what it is. At Birmingham Mr Chamberlain spoke of it chiefly from the standpoint of high Imperialism. The Empire, he said, was 'one and indivisible'; but unless the question of trade and commerce was satisfactorily settled, he, for one, did not believe in a continued union of the Empire; and the question at the next general election would be

'whether the people of this country really have it in their hearts to do all that is necessary, even if it occasionally goes against their prejudices, to consolidate an Empire which can only be maintained by relations of interest as well as by relations of sentiment.' (The 'Times,' May 16, 1903.)

In the House of Commons, on May 28, he still kept in view, though less prominently, the Imperial aspect of

the question, but addressed himself mainly to its bearing upon home interests, and especially the interests of the working classes. There will have to be, he said, a new mandate given to the government; and that mandate will involve many considerations affecting not merely the general prosperity of the country, but going deep into the condition of the working classes and their interests. Describing more in detail than at Birmingham the sort of scheme he has in view, he said it would not 'at a stroke' entirely and absolutely reverse the existing fiscal policy, but that, though not intentionally protective, it would incidentally, and as far as it goes, be protective. He took credit for this in the interests of British agriculture, of Irish farmers, and of commerce in general, which he maintained would be benefited by the breaking down of foreign tariffs and by the discomfiture of capitalist combinations and Trusts.

The fiscal aims of his policy are, first, to establish preferential arrangements in the nature of reciprocity agreements with the self-governing colonies; and next, to put the country in possession of a weapon with which to meet fiscal attack by a foreign nation upon any part of the British Empire. The preferential arrangements will, it is admitted, involve the imposition of a tax upon 'some great product of the colonies' that 'will produce a very large revenue.' This will necessarily involve the taxation of food, or raw material, or both; but, 'without binding himself for all time,' and as far as he could see, 'it would not be possible to tax raw materials.' The exclusion of raw materials is not a matter of principle with Mr Chamberlain; they are excluded only because 'it would be very difficult to find raw materials suitable for that purpose.' 'If,' he says, 'a tax were put upon raw materials, it would be a shilling or two upon corn.' Finally, Mr Chamberlain submits that the test of his policy will be its effect upon the material welfare of the working classes in the United Kingdom. If his opponents can show that the whole of this business will mean 'greater cost of living to the working man and no increase of income,' he apprehends that his proposals will be rejected; but if he can show that he 'will give more than he takes,' then, he says, 'I may still have a chance.'



As to the actual proposals he has in view, Mr Chamberlain has no information to give. 'We must know from our own people not only what they can give, but what they want in return.' 'Before we negotiate with the colonies, we must find out what the opinion of the country is.' Having received his mandate, Mr Chamberlain would call together another colonial conference; and he has not the slightest doubt that arrangements of equal mutual advantage could be concluded with all the colonies.

Mr Chamberlain's project, then, is commended to the country as a means of saving the Empire from disruption, and of improving the material prosperity of the United Kingdom. It assumes that the Empire is 'one and indivisible,' and contemplates the substitution, not 'at a stroke' but by degrees, of a protectionist for a free-trade policy. But is the Empire one and indivisible? The government of George III assumed that it was so when they attempted to tax the American colonies; but it is not to be supposed that Mr Chamberlain would repeat that error. The self-governing colonies have been given both freedom and responsibility; and, if they show less appreciation of their responsibilities than of their freedom, that is a weak point in Imperial relationship that needs to be remedied. But we cannot force a policy on the colonies. They are, Mr Chamberlain admits, as free as we are, and they are equally jealous of their liberties. Now the fiscal revolution that is proposed would be almost as great in the colonies as here.

What is contemplated is not what has hitherto been advocated by believers in reciprocity and fair trade. These economists have inveighed against the exclusiveness of foreign nations which have erected high tariffs to keep out British manufactures, and have argued in favour of retaliatory duties to bring such foreign nations to reason. Fair traders, on the whole, have only advocated taxes upon foreign manufactures, and they have not sought to put the colonies on a better footing than any foreign nation that might be willing to enter into reciprocal relations with the United Kingdom. This is not Mr Chamberlain's position. The foundation of his scheme is to give the colonies better terms than he would

give under any conditions to a foreign country; and he would bind the colonies in return to give to the United Kingdom better terms than to any foreign country. This is the very heart and essence of his project; and for either the United Kingdom or a colony to admit a foreign nation into the Imperial circle of privilege and protection would be fatal to the whole plan. Into such an arrangement as this the self-governing colonies can only be brought by their own consent; and when, if ever, they are so brought in, they and the mother-country will have erected a tariff wall against every other nation that supplies produce or manufactures in competition with British and colonial manufactures and produce included in the reciprocity agreements. If any foreign country resented its exclusion from the British Zollverein and took measures of retaliation, Mr Chamberlain, again speaking for the whole Empire, would approach that country and say, 'If you cannot meet us in this, I am afraid I shall have to put a duty on that'; and the offending country would be placed under a least-favoured-nation clause.

Nothing has yet been said as to the position of India and the Crown colonies under the proposed scheme; but it must be assumed that their fiscal arrangements would be harmonised with those of the rest of the Empire. India's export trade by sea to foreign countries, reaching an aggregate of about 37,000,000*l.* per annum, compared with about 40,000,000*l.* to the United Kingdom and to British colonies, would therefore be brought under the new arrangement.

In Canada and South Africa Mr Chamberlain's project has been received with friendly sympathy. In New Zealand it has met with the cordial approbation of Mr Seddon. In Australia statesmen have been critical and generally favourable; but public opinion, as expressed by the press, is on the whole antagonistic. In all the colonies, however, there is an assumption of full fiscal freedom that is quite inconsistent with the theory that the Empire is as yet one and indivisible.

It is because there is no Empire policy—because the United Kingdom and each of the self-governing colonies pursues its own policy independently of the rest of the Empire—that Mr Chamberlain seeks to create a policy

for the whole Empire that would enable it to confront the world as one consolidated political and commercial entity. Until this idea is realised, it is illogical to complain that Germany or any other Power persists in regarding each self-governing colony as a separate commercial entity.

Mr Chamberlain contrasts our attitude towards individual German states with that of the German government towards Canada. But no German state occupies the free position enjoyed by Canada. The Imperial German government enters into treaties that are binding upon all the individual states in the Empire; and each German state has a voice in the acceptance of the treaty. There is no corresponding representative authority in the British Empire. Within the German Empire, as within the United States, there is freedom of trade; while towards external Powers the States and the German Empire are each an individual entity. There is no freedom of trade within the British Empire, whose self-governing parts pursue their own fiscal policy, and need not accord to each other or to the mother-country better terms than are given to a foreign state. Nay, Mr Chamberlain even admits that a self-governing colony may enter into reciprocity treaties with foreign nations, giving to foreigners better terms than to the mother-country; and Mr Seddon has threatened to do this if reciprocity with the colonies be not arranged. When, therefore, Germany feels aggrieved at the action of Canada, the Canadians can hardly complain that the German government treats them as a separate entity. It is true that Canada has incurred German resentment by a fiscal measure intended to promote British interests; and for this we owe her something more than mere gratitude. But Canada still retains her fiscal independence; and to contend that she may enjoy both fiscal independence and Imperial protection against fiscal retaliation is illogical. If Canada were helplessly at the mercy of Germany, and were being seriously injured by that Power, every Englishman would resent it deeply. But that is not so. Canada can meet German hostility very effectually without our aid. Her purchases from Germany during the four years ending with 1901 averaged 1,500,000*l.* per annum; but Germany's purchases from Canada in the same

period averaged only 400,000*l.* per annum. Germany, therefore, could only diminish Canada's trade by an insignificant amount if it were to cease to buy anything from Canada; but Canada could shut out by a retaliatory policy 1,500,000*l.* per annum of Germany's trade. In such circumstances there is no need for the home government to interfere. If, on the other hand, Mr Chamberlain wishes to retaliate upon Germany on behalf of Canada, he is as free to do so now as he would be under the new system that he proposes. Our largest imports from Germany consist of sugar; and, but for the Sugar Convention, Mr Chamberlain might have retaliated upon Germany by taxing sugar. Having rendered this impossible, he can still find a few millions' worth of German imports under the heads of chemicals, corn, eggs, glass, iron goods, pianos, wood, and woollen goods. He is as free now as he would be under reciprocity with Canada to go to Germany and say, 'Unless you take off your special tariff on Canadian products I shall have to put a tax on some or all of these articles.' Indeed it is possible that Mr Chamberlain could adopt a retaliatory policy towards Germany more easily now than under a system of reciprocity with the colonies, which would restrict his freedom of action. Now he has only public opinion in this country to think of; then he would have to reckon with the opinion of the whole Empire.

In forming an opinion upon the value of reciprocity with Canada, it is necessary to have regard to the course of Canadian trade, since preferential rates were given for this country in April 1897. Canadian imports since that time do not suggest that this country has gained much by the concession, though probably there might have been a still less favourable record if special reductions of tariff had not been made. The remarkable thing is that, notwithstanding the special terms, our exports to Canada have shown a lower rate of progress than those of Germany, and a much lower rate than those of the United States, France, and Belgium. The figures for four years preceding and four years succeeding the beginning of the preferential Canadian tariff are as follows:—

# 252 MR CHAMBERLAIN'S FISCAL POLICY

## CANADIAN IMPORTS FROM—

Years ending June 30.	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany.	France.	Belgium.
	£	£	£	£	£
1894 . . .	7,955,603	10,897,418	1,200,317	521,294	113,062
1895 . . .	6,396,932	11,226,271	985,101	531,200	90,743
1896 . . .	6,776,659	12,035,758	1,218,793	577,591	189,197
1897 . . .	6,043,600	12,667,611	1,334,254	534,524	239,102
Average. .	6,793,198	11,706,765	1,184,616	541,152	158,026
1898 . . .	6,678,271	16,172,382	1,147,400	816,853	252,762
1899 . . .	7,615,094	19,111,062	1,519,203	799,170	476,450
1900 . . .	9,203,369	22,570,763	1,722,637	897,637	662,449
1901 . . .	8,839,349	22,702,399	1,442,754	1,109,182	786,668
Average. .	8,084,021	20,139,151	1,457,998	905,710	544,582
Increase per cent. }	19	72	23	67	245

These are very remarkable and disconcerting figures. Canada's chief imports are coal, raw cotton, wheat and other grain, hardware, machinery, iron and steel manufactures, including rails, sugar, tea, tobacco, wool, and woollen manufactures, all of which, except woollens and a reasonable share of iron and steel products, are practically drawn from the United States. Setting aside the trade with the States, it appears that the United Kingdom and the colonies supply about two thirds of Canada's purchases from the rest of the world. But the rate of Belgian, French, and German progress is an unpleasant fact that cannot be ignored.

It has to be recognised, too, that in recent years American and German exports to Australia and New Zealand have shown a rapid development. This will be seen from a comparison of Australasian imports in 1898 with those of 1901. The figures are:—

## IMPORTS INTO AUSTRALASIA—

From	1898.	1901.	Increase.
	£	£	Per cent.
United States . . . . .	3,999,814	7,269,396	82
Germany . . . . .	1,997,747	2,998,477	50

The total imports from Germany and the United States are still small compared with the 32,000,000*l.* worth of products imported from the United Kingdom; but the growth of foreign trade with Australasia is as significant as that with Canada.

With South Africa, American trade since 1898 has stood at about 2,700,000*l.*, and with Germany at about 1,000,000*l.* There has been practically no increase of foreign trade in the South African colonies; but the war may partly account for this.

In so far as colonial imports from foreign countries consist of products that could be supplied by the United Kingdom, Canada, Australasia, and South Africa have something to offer to this country in a reciprocity agreement. The total value of the imports of these three colonies from all foreign countries in 1901 was as follows: Canada 27,613,374*l.*; Australia and New Zealand, 14,391,433*l.*; South Africa 5,000,763*l.*; making in the aggregate 47,005,570*l.* The share of the United States in this trade was 32,611,988*l.*; that of Germany 5,559,516*l.*; and that of all other countries, including those in the Tropics and the Far East, 8,834,066*l.* Great Britain's most active trade rivals are the United States and Germany; but probably one half of the American trade is in products other than those of the United Kingdom; and a large proportion of the 8,834,066*l.* supplied to the colonies by 'other' countries could not be produced within the United Kingdom. Deducting trade of this kind from the total foreign imports of the colonies, there would not remain more than about 30,000,000*l.* of imports into the three self-governing colonies if the United Kingdom secured all their imports that it could at present supply. From the purely trade aspect, then, this is the limit of increase in trade, under present conditions of colonial wealth and population, that can be offered by the colonies to this country under any scheme of colonial reciprocity. And this limit of 30,000,000*l.* is the high-water mark of a period of exceptional prosperity.

What should we have to pay for it? Mr Chamberlain's case is that we should tax foreign supplies of 'some great product of the colonies' that would 'produce a very large revenue'; and he has indicated the amount of the revenue by suggesting that it would equal the cost of old-age

pensions and other things—say 15,000,000*l.* or 20,000,000*l.* per annum. If the lower figure be taken, it is equal to one half of the maximum new colonial trade that is in contemplation; and to pay new taxes amounting to 15,000,000*l.* in order to secure a new trade of the value of 30,000,000*l.* is not an attractive proposal to place before the country. But the matter does not end here. The proceeds of the new taxes, whatever the amount, are not to go in relief of existing taxation; and the colonial trade to be secured is not to be clear gain. We are to risk losing quite as much, possibly more, trade with foreign nations; and 'every penny' of the proceeds of the new taxes is to go to the working classes. Mr Chamberlain is going to say to them: 'Not only will you get back any benefits intended entirely and alone for you, but the whole of the sum you have paid you will get in addition to the whole of what is paid by the richer classes.' A pretty argument truly by which to commend a revolution in the fiscal policy of the country!

What would these great colonial products be that, by taxing foreign imports, would yield this large income? and upon what country's products would the new taxes fall? The intention is to limit them to colonial food products. The imports of food and other products from the three self-governing groups of colonies are as follows:

	Food.	Other Products.	Total.
	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
Canada . . . .	13,500,000	6,500,000	20,000,000
Australasia . . . .	10,500,000	24,300,000	34,800,000
Cape Colony and Natal .	—	10,000,000	10,000,000

All the food we imported from South Africa in 1901 was coffee from Natal to the value of 14,500*l.* Natal has also a small sugar trade; but obviously no reciprocity arrangement based on the taxation of food can be applied in South Africa. The great products of the Cape and Natal, apart from diamonds and gold, are wool, feathers, goats' hair, and coal. But there is no possibility of stimulating the coal trade of South Africa by reciprocity; and ostrich feathers and diamonds have a market of their own. The only South African products of any importance that are



open to treatment in a reciprocity arrangement are wool and goats' hair.

In the case of Australasia the export trade of New Zealand differs in some respects from that of the Australian colonies; but both in New Zealand and Australia wool is the staple product. The next largest Australian trade is in metals, and in hides, skins, leather, and tallow. Then come meat, corn, butter, and, far in the rear, apples and wine. Next to wool the important products of New Zealand are mutton, butter and cheese, corn, hides, skins, leather, and tallow. The relative positions will be best seen from the following table:—

	Australia.	New Zealand.
	£	£
Wool . . . . .	11,500,000	4,000,000
Metals . . . . .	4,000,000	3,000
Hides, etc. . . . .	2,000,000	880,000
Meat . . . . .	2,000,000	3,500,000
Corn . . . . .	2,000,000	550,000
Butter . . . . .	1,200,000	800,000
Cheese . . . . .	—	200,000
Fruit and wine . . . . .	270,000	—
	22,970,000	9,933,000

If reciprocity concessions be limited to food, New Zealand would receive benefit upon more than half its present exports, but Australia would not derive anything like a corresponding advantage. To benefit Australia, some raw material or materials would need to be taxed; and the largest product, and the one that is most widely distributed, is wool. It represents in value nearly half the total exports of both Australia and New Zealand to European countries and America. If, however, wool be rejected, the selection must lie between metals and skins, hides, leather, tallow, and kindred products. The point is that, unless wool be taken, there is no other product of large value and comparatively regular distribution that could be chosen for both New Zealand and Australia.

Mr Chamberlain does not desire to tax raw material, and Mr Balfour almost refuses to entertain such a proposal; but neither statesman yet seems to realise that the selection of produce to be taxed will not rest entirely with them. Australia and New Zealand are democratic communities; and, in the bargains they make, their re-

representatives must have regard to the wishes and the interests of all sections of the community. To satisfy the colonial constituencies in Australia and New Zealand, food products, wool, metals, and leather, etc. might all have to be brought within the reciprocity agreement.

The same consideration would influence negotiations with Canada. Only half of Canada's exports come to this country; but these represent her principal products. Our imports from Canada consist chiefly of:—

Cattle . . . . .	£ 1,500,000
Butter, cheese, and eggs . . . . .	4,950,000
Corn . . . . .	4,000,000
Bacon and hams . . . . .	1,400,000
Fish . . . . .	700,000
Apples and pears . . . . .	350,000
Lard . . . . .	200,000
Wood . . . . .	4,500,000
	<hr/>
	£17,600,000

The only important raw material here is wood, a tax upon which would increase the rent of houses in this country, and is therefore to be avoided if possible. But could it be avoided? Taxes on corn and cattle would benefit the farms of Ontario, Manitoba, and the North-West, and the ranchmen of Alberta and Assiniboia. Taxes on dairy products, bacon and hams, and apples would benefit the province of Ontario and, to some extent, that of Quebec. But, if eastern Canada and British Columbia are to profit from reciprocity, fish and wood must be included in the arrangement; and a Canadian government that did not include these products in its bargain would fare badly at the polls in the provinces prejudicially affected.

In any scheme of reciprocity it may be assumed that, so far as political considerations would permit, only great products would be dealt with. In the case of Canada these might be living animals, wheat and other grain, dairy products, and wood. In South Africa there is no option but to select wool. In Australia wool could scarcely be left out of account; and, if it were, the alternative would be metals and meat.

One must assume that concessions to one colony would be extended to the others; otherwise the effect would be to differentiate against the colonies and to place them on

an unequal footing. The effect, therefore, would be to admit from all the colonies, on specially advantageous terms, meat, wheat, dairy products, fish, wood, and wool, and possibly other produce. To subject these imports to taxation when supplied by foreign countries would tax some imports from almost every nation in the world, but to the most serious extent those from the United States, the Argentine Republic, Russia, Denmark, and Norway and Sweden. To a much less degree the new taxes would strike at Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland, of whose exports to this country the produce to be taxed forms only a very small fraction.

It is difficult to imagine that this is what Mr Chamberlain has in view. That the United States is the one country in the world from which British manufactures are to a large extent excluded is true; but this is no reason why we should attack the trade of the Argentine Republic, Russia, Denmark, and Norway and Sweden. These four countries take one sixth of our whole exports to foreign countries; and to single them out from all other nations as the special victims of a new policy of reciprocity with the colonies would be unfriendly to them and injurious to those traders and manufacturers in Great Britain who now do business with them, and could not by any possibility assist this country in competition with Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, and the United States.

If the proposed new policy would open the American and continental markets to British manufacturers, many people would be ready to applaud it. But no one can be sure that it would do so. It is as difficult to say what the effect of import duties upon food products from the United States would be, as it is to say what action Germany, France, Holland, and Belgium might take to counteract the effect of the new reciprocal arrangements. There is, however, one action that Great Britain could not take. It could not place these or any foreign countries on the same trade footing as the colonies. So far as the taxation of raw material is concerned, the reciprocity agreements with the colonies would fix the duties to be levied on foreign produce; and it would not be in the power of the British government, without the consent of the colonies, to concede any reduction. To this extent the present power of entering

into reciprocity treaties with any foreign Power would cease to exist; and if it were sought to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United States or Germany, foreign produce included in the treaty would have to be other than that covered in the agreements with the colonies. The most obvious result of reciprocity with the colonies would be to bar out certain food products and raw material of foreign origin from the United Kingdom, and to give the United Kingdom preferential duties in the colonies on British manufactures. It would prejudice most the interests of those nations from which we most largely draw food and wood and wool, and, with the exception of the United States, would affect least the nations that compete with us most and seek more than any others to shut out British produce from their home markets.

Under such a system foreign countries would have no more to gain than they have now by reducing their tariffs in favour of the British Empire. The colonies, bound by their reciprocity agreements with the mother-country, could make no concession on foreign manufactures; and the British market, except for food, wood, and wool, would still remain as open to all the world as it is now. If, on the other hand, a foreign nation advanced its tariff against any part of the British Empire, the whole British Empire might retaliate—a policy that may be adopted, if the Empire desires it, now as readily as under any system of reciprocity. But retaliation could not always be effective; and, without entering upon a lengthy discussion of this side of the question, it may be enough to say that if the United States, enjoying a practical monopoly in the supply of cotton, were to retaliate by imposing an export duty on that article, little if any injury would be done to American planters, but Lancashire's cotton trade would simply be ruined.

The sole substantial advantage that this country is to enjoy would seem to be, then, a reduction of tariff in British colonies as against foreign competitors; while on the other side of the account must be placed increased cost of living, increased cost of wood and wool, and any loss of trade with foreign countries that might result from diminished trade with them consequent upon our reduced purchases of food and raw material. Outside

the colonies, competition with the United States and Germany would be in no way modified, except that the general advance in the cost of living in Great Britain, and the advance in the price of wood and wool, would have a prejudicial effect upon the position of British manufacturers in general, and upon the woollen trade in a special degree. That wages could or would advance in the United Kingdom under these conditions is incredible. The conditions of competition outside the colonies would have become more difficult; and wages would be more likely to decrease.

One assumption underlying the proposal for reciprocity with the colonies is that British manufacturers cannot compete successfully on equal terms with foreigners. Unless this be assumed, there is no trade reason—though of course there may be political reasons—why special terms should be desired. This necessitates an investigation of most vital importance; for, if we cannot hold our ground in competition with foreigners when on equal terms, the situation is perilous indeed. Now it is easy to prove that British trade is progressing. A bird's-eye view of British exports to the whole world during the last six years, in two equal periods, shows that, in spite of high tariffs, British manufactures are not excluded from foreign countries. But investigation unfortunately demonstrates with equal clearness that under equal conditions the United States and Germany are making more rapid progress than we are.

AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE OF EXPORTS OF BRITISH PRODUCE  
AND MANUFACTURES (SHIPS OMITTED).

To	1896-98.	1899-1901.	Rate Per Cent. Increase.
Europe . . . . .	£ 86,785,694	£ 102,510,087	18
Asiatic Turkey . . . . .	3,287,709	3,247,701	Stagnant
Egypt . . . . .	4,210,715	5,770,993	37
China (excluding Hong Kong) and Maceo) . . . . .	5,299,653	6,235,355	18
Japan . . . . .	5,584,775	5,479,548	Stagnant
United States . . . . .	18,711,782	18,652,917	Stagnant
Central and South America . . . . .	20,772,812	21,137,322	2
Other foreign countries . . . . .	8,508,773	11,435,221	34
Total foreign countries . . . . .	153,161,913	174,469,144	14
Total colonies and possessions . . . . .	82,746,254	95,121,786	15

Egypt and Japan are 'neutral' markets. High tariffs do not interfere with trade in those countries. In Egypt no competitor so much as approaches Great Britain. With Japan, British trade is far ahead of that of any other country, but, exclusive of ships, is making no progress, while the United States is making rapid progress, and Germany is advancing too. The relative progress of the three Powers during the five years ending in 1900 will be seen from the following return of Japan's imports stated in thousands of yen (1000 yen = roughly 100L.).

	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
United Kingdom .	60,398	66,782	64,325	45,930	73,036
United States . .	16,928	27,842	40,871	39,209	64,279
Germany . . .	17,407	18,497	25,911	17,704	29,294

Starting almost on a level with Germany, the United States has increased its imports into Japan fourfold, while Germany has improved by only two thirds, and Britain's great trade has increased a little over one fifth. The trade of China has been disorganised by war; and the returns are complicated by the existence of Hong Kong and its vast China trade. Treating Hong Kong separately, the direct trade of the United Kingdom and that of the United States, stated in thousands of Haikwan taels (1000 taels = about 160L.), compare thus:—

	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
United Kingdom .	44,571	40,016	34,963	40,161	45,467
Hong Kong . .	91,357	90,126	97,214	118,096	93,847
United States . .	11,930	12,440	17,163	22,289	16,724

Germany's trade is too small to be stated separately. Both in China and Japan British trade is well maintained, though it is not advancing like that of the United States. If, then, in these neutral markets the United States is making such rapid progress against British competition, one can scarcely be surprised that British exports to the United States itself should be stagnant. There is nothing to suggest that the stagnation in the trade with the States is entirely or mainly due to its

high tariff, though no one would think of denying that the tariff is a barrier. The comparatively stagnant condition of British trade with South and Central America is not due to tariff. These are neutral markets, many of which have been disturbed by internal convulsions and wars. In these countries German trade has been making substantial progress. Take Mexico, the imports of which show the following comparative figures in thousands of dollars :—

	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
United Kingdom .	7,905	6,882	8,106	9,211	10,438
Germany . . .	4,363	4,003	4,782	5,678	6,674
United States . .	20,146	22,594	21,491	24,165	31,026

The United States has Mexico on its border, as it has Canada, and naturally does a large trade; but the United States is not helped, and Great Britain is not prejudiced, by tariff arrangements. Look at the trade of Chili, which is not a close neighbour of the United States. The figures in thousands of pesos fuertes\* are :—

	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
United Kingdom .	30,249	29,073	38,424	44,338	42,482
Germany . . .	20,081	16,475	26,397	29,749	34,322
United States . .	6,807	4,451	9,399	8,198	12,099

Here British trade is doing very well, but German much better, and American relatively better still. But in neither case is this because of any tariff privileges. For one more elucidatory illustration take the Argentine Republic. In thousands of pesos oro (1000 pesos oro = 200*l*.) the figures are :—

	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
United Kingdom .	44,732	36,392	39,013	43,671	38,683
Germany . . .	13,895	11,114	12,571	12,980	16,636
United States . .	11,210	10,102	11,129	15,467	13,439

\* The peso fuerte in and since 1898 = 1*s*. 6*d*.; previous to that year = 3*s*. 2*d*. The currency was rearranged on a gold basis in 1898.



Here British trade has made no progress, while Germany and the United States have advanced. But not through tariff preferences; they have none.

It may be remarked here, too, that though much has been said about the United States 'dumping' its surplus products into the British and other markets, the large and steady progress of United States trade in neutral markets cannot be attributed to 'dumping,' which is a more or less spasmodic operation, and only occurs when there is surplus stock to dispose of. The advance in American exports to foreign countries is steady and progressive, and cannot be attributed either to 'dumping' or to favours in tariffs. Amongst the most powerful influences that favour cheap production in the States, in spite of high wages, are mineral wealth, highly scientific mining, cheap transport, labour-saving tools and machinery, and an enormous home market, the steady demands of which suffice to keep large industrial works constantly employed, and to render possible the adoption of 'standard' patterns and designs, and the formation of huge industrial combinations. All these are influences that make for cheapness of production, and help to overcome the barrier that the protective system of America places in the way of the growth of its external trade.

If, now, the figures for Europe be examined, it will be seen that in protectionist Europe British trade is more prosperous than in the neutral ground of Central and South America. To all Central and South America the exports of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom have advanced in value only two per cent., while in the same period those to Europe have advanced eighteen per cent.

The following is a statement of the average annual value of our exports (exclusive of ships) to European countries in the two periods 1896-98 and 1899-1901:—

	1896-98.	1899-1901.	Increase Per Cent.
	£	£	
Russia . . . . .	7,975,439	10,075,868	26·4
Sweden, Norway, and Denmark	8,912,838	11,393,483	28
Germany . . . . .	22,124,273	24,581,448	11
Holland and Belgium . . . .	16,885,754	18,818,422	11·5
France . . . . .	13,892,190	17,007,661	22·4
Other European countries . .	16,995,200	20,633,205	21·4

Trade with Russia, Sweden and Norway, and Denmark—the countries that would be most severely hit by colonial reciprocity—is the most progressive part of our European trade. Of northern countries, France comes next, then Holland and Belgium, and, largest but least buoyant, Germany. The German figures for 1901 are, however, severely affected by the period of sharp trade depression that fell upon Germany in that year. For the six years ending 1900 Germany's imports from the United Kingdom, stated in millions of marks, were:—

1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
536	551	567	566	673	719

There is nothing to complain of here, and no evidence of British produce being shut out of the German home market by a high tariff.

In no part of the world, then, is there any evidence worth consideration to show that Britain is being ruined by other nations barring out our trade by prohibitive tariffs; but there is abundant proof that, where tariff conditions are equal, Germany and the United States, especially the United States, are making more progress than the United Kingdom. But the broad fact still remains that, comparing the last three years ending 1901 with the three preceding years, British exports (exclusive of ships) to the Continent increased in value 18 per cent.; to all foreign countries 14 per cent.; and to India and the colonies only 15·5 per cent.

The relatively more rapid progress of other nations, be the cause what it may, is a disquieting feature in the situation that must be considered. The export trade of the principal manufacturing nations in the world for the ten years ending in 1900 show British progress to be the slowest. The average annual values of the exports of the following countries in the five years ending 1895, and in the five ending 1900, compare in the table on the following page.

The contrast between the rate of progress of the United Kingdom and of all our principal competitors is too striking to be ignored. Nor is the familiar observation that a large trade cannot be expected to show as rapid a rate of progress as a small one quite satisfying.

AVERAGE VALUE OF EXPORTS (in thousands of pounds).

	1891-95.	1896-1900.	Increase Per Cent.
	£	£	
United Kingdom . . . . .	287,500	313,700	9
United States . . . . .	182,600	242,100	32
Germany . . . . .	155,000	197,400	27
Holland . . . . .	94,500	126,500	34
Belgium . . . . .	55,500	70,000	26
France . . . . .	133,700	150,200	12

The aggregate average value of the exports of Germany, Holland, and Belgium for 1891-95 was 305,000,000*l.*, against the British 287,500,000*l.*; and in the years 1896-1900 it had risen to 393,900,000*l.*, while the British had only increased to 313,700,000*l.* Nor can the suggestion be accepted that the great growth of the exports of protectionist countries is due to the operations of Trusts and other capitalist combinations selling produce in foreign markets at or below cost price. The increase in the American, German, Dutch, and Belgian exports is too large and too steadily maintained to be accounted for in that way.

It may be that the smallness of the advance in British exports is simply due to the fact that this country, in the recent exceptionally prosperous years, was working up to its maximum power of production, and that the surplus trade that could not be accepted went to swell the business of foreign competitors. Some very competent business men take this view; but whether it supplies a sufficient explanation, or not, is matter for investigation. What we already know is that every mine, foundry, factory, workshop, railway, shipbuilding yard and slip was fully and profitably employed; and that every man who would work had work, and plenty of it. We know, too, that for three years the productive power of the country was reduced by the abstraction of a quarter of a million of reservists, militia, yeomanry, and volunteers to serve in South Africa; and that a great war cannot be carried on without prejudice to industrial and commercial interests. A not less important fact is that we have emerged from this period of bounding prosperity with the whole financial and industrial situation in a thoroughly sound and healthy condition; and that this cannot be said of either Germany or the United States. Germany grasped at

too much and collapsed three years ago. Little has been heard of German prosperity, but much of German agricultural and industrial depression and of financial anxiety since the new century came in.

Mr Balfour, on May 28, concluded his speech in the House of Commons with a eulogy of the 'magnificent economic position attained by the United States.' He was certain, he said, that unless Mr Chamberlain's scheme proved to be practicable, or unless some other scheme having the same results could be carried through, it was

'vain to hope that this branch, at all events, of the Anglo-Saxon race is destined to have the great and triumphant progress which undoubtedly lies before the United States.'

There is a magnificent future before the United States, and before this country, too, it is to be hoped; but at the present moment we doubt whether there is one thinking Englishman, who knows the facts, who would be ready to see his country change positions with the United States. There are to-day two danger-clouds on the economic horizon. One is over Johannesburg, where the unsettled labour problem hangs like a pall. The other is over New York, where the great capitalist speculators have captured banking and financial institutions and utilised them in building up unstable combinations which control railways, ocean steamers, and vast industrial enterprises, and which are themselves loaded up with inflated securities that a wise and discerning public declines to touch. This is the 'magnificent economic position' which so captivates Mr Balfour's imagination that he holds it up for British emulation as the only way to economic salvation, while the rest of the world patiently waits its collapse. The prudence of British financiers, manufacturers, and leaders of industry has saved this country from such industrial depression as has overtaken Germany, and from the financial nightmare that is afflicting America; and this is a very substantial offset against a smaller spasmodic increase in trade.

Much has been said about this country being the only 'dumping' ground in the world for continental and American manufacturers; but Mr Chamberlain, while accepting and making use of this cry, himself supplies

evidence that there has not in recent years been any good ground for it. Speaking of America he says:—

‘When there is a demand, or a boom, as there has been recently, works are at once increased to meet that boom; and, so long as the home trade will take all that the works make, so long that is the profitable arrangement for the manufacturer, and no goods come to this country’ (‘Times,’ May 29).

And of course none go to other countries; at all events during prosperous times there is no ‘dumping.’ The American home market, to the astonishment of the world, has taken all that American producers could supply; and, in comparison with the vast home trade, American business abroad, rapidly as it has been increasing, has been of quite minor importance.

‘But,’ Mr Chamberlain continues, ‘the moment trade is bad, if there were depression to-morrow in the iron trade, there is not the slightest doubt—it has been stated publicly by the president of the tremendous Steel and Iron Corporation, and it is actually being done at this moment by the great German trusts—it is perfectly certain that great quantities of iron would be put down in this country, or in the countries that we supply, at prices that we cannot possibly contend with’ (‘Times,’ May 29).

That this is perfectly true cannot be denied. It is a plain statement of a notorious fact; but that fact only confirms the conclusion that in the past four or five years of abnormal prosperity the more rapid increase of continental and American exports, as compared with ours, in foreign neutral markets is not due to the operation of Trusts and combinations. The ‘tug of war’ with them will come when demand slackens everywhere, and the Trusts and combinations have to look outside their home markets for a ‘dumping’ ground.

That time, Mr Chamberlain truly says, has come in Germany already. It has; and has produced some interesting and suggestive results. The most conspicuous is the Socialist triumph at the polls, on which the Berlin correspondent of the ‘Times’ remarks:—

‘The lesson of the election, so far as it can at present be read, is that the Germany of industrial progress, of military strength and renown, and of inordinate naval and colonial ambition, is

honeycombed with unappeasable discontent,' and that 'it is doubtless true that nearly 4,000,000 of Socialist and Radical electors are determined that their daily bread shall not be subjected to inordinate taxation in order to maintain a landed class which is largely bankrupt, and which claims a prescriptive right to civil office and military rank' ('Times,' June 18).

The Socialist revolt is at present directed against taxation for the benefit of a landlord class; but workmen will equally resent being taxed in order that they may provide a profit for manufacturers who sell their produce abroad cheaper than in Germany. A British firm has recently secured a contract to construct certain iron work in Berlin; and it is explained that German iron will be used, as it can be bought more cheaply in England than in Germany. If, then, Germans and Americans 'dump' cheap iron and steel into this country we shall not be without some compensation. British shipbuilders and all users of iron and steel will reap a harvest, and their men will be well employed. But to this argument, satisfying to many free traders, Mr Chamberlain has a reply, namely, that, as no British producers of iron and steel could possibly for many years stand the loss that 'dumping' on a large scale would inflict upon them, the British iron trade would be ruined, and all the capital now invested in it would be lost. Here it is assumed that the ruinous competition would continue 'for many years,' which would be impossible unless American and continental iron and steel producers were able and willing to go on for years producing wares to sell abroad at little profit or even actual loss. There is no reason to suppose that the American people or American workmen would tolerate a systematic trade of this kind, in which every penny of the profit would necessarily come out of the pockets of American taxpayers and workpeople. But, if they did tolerate it, how would reciprocity with the colonies and retaliatory duties on food cure the evil? Even if it be assumed—and it is a very large assumption—that Mr Chamberlain, by a tariff wall, could shut out this cheap American and German iron and steel from England, he could not exclude it from 'the countries that we supply'; and by excluding it from Great Britain he would deprive British manufacturers of cheap raw material, while German and American manufacturers would be in pos-

session of it, and this would be ruinous to the prospects of British iron and steel manufacturers abroad. The 'Bulletin' of the American Iron and Steel Association, discussing this very question in March last year, wrote:—

'It will be only a few years, possibly only one year, until our British competitors will have many furnaces built and operated upon American lines. With their cheaper labour there will then be little room in British markets for American pig-iron, and in neutral markets our pig-iron makers will have sharper competition than they have recently had. And Germany, too, will have a hand in this competition. . . . Not only will Europe adopt our methods, but it will always have cheap labour.'

Americans do not think that the way to combat Trusts and capitalist organisations in England is to add to the cost of living and to raise wages.

Is it conceivable that reciprocity with the colonies would render nugatory the operation of Trusts, or the vicissitudes of trade, or help the cotton, woollen, iron and steel, and other manufacturers in Great Britain to compete more successfully with the United States and Germany in China, Japan, Central and South America, than they do now, or that it would place them in a better position to compete in the home markets of the United States, Germany, France, Holland, and Belgium? Mr Chamberlain holds out a prospect of higher wages; but, if wages were advanced, the price of the manufactured products would need to be advanced too; and this would not help but hinder our business in foreign markets. It is argued that the effect of the new policy would be to break down the tariff wall that excludes British goods from the United States and other foreign markets; but if, as has been shown, the United States and Germany can take trade from British manufacturers in markets in which no outsiders enjoy any tariff advantages, it is hard to see that much advantage would result from the opening of even the American market.

Let us put parrot cries aside, whether of free traders or fair traders or reciprocists, and get to actual facts. Thirty or forty years ago Matthew Arnold was sent to the Continent by the British government to report upon educational methods there; and he reported, amongst



other things, that unless Great Britain revised her systems of secondary, technical, and higher education, Germany would oust her from her trade supremacy in foreign countries. For years we have been struggling to reconstitute our educational system, but all the time have been hearing from British consuls all over the world of German superiority in foreign languages and in trade methods. It is the German schoolmaster, not the German tariff, that has enabled German trade to forge ahead. Reciprocity with the colonies, and taxes on the wheat and wood of Russia, and the meat and wool of the Argentine Republic, would not help British manufacturers to excel Germans in technical knowledge, trade methods, and the use of foreign languages.

If one looks to the United States, what are the serious factors there? Deputations have been going out from England to study the causes of American progress, and they have found them in the vastness of America's natural resources, in the vast extent of its home market, in the close personal application and technical skill of its capitalists and inventors, in the use of machinery, standardisation in manufactures, the perfection of means of transport, and in the sobriety and skilled industry of its workpeople. It has been found, too, that under the American system British artisans excel in skill and often rise above their American fellows. The American tariff has helped to build up American industries, and still helps to protect them; but, in so far as it is protective, it stands in the way of external trade; and almost the last words of President McKinley were in favour of a great relaxation of the American tariff in the interests of the trans-oceanic trade. If the object of British protectionists were achieved, and the United States were induced, by reciprocity with the colonies, to approach towards free trade, what is taking place in Japan, China, Central and South America, and the Australian colonies, indicates that the first result would be increased American competition all over the world, without offering any great opportunity for British manufacturers to invade America. Certainly reciprocity with the colonies, and dearer food and raw material at home, would not assist manufacturers in Great Britain to meet American competition anywhere outside the British Empire.

As to any fear that the Empire is going to fall to pieces unless the United Kingdom gives preferential treatment to the colonies, times have changed since an Australian royal commission, over thirty years ago, reported that they had no assurance that in the event of war they would be defended against Great Britain's enemies. They know now that they will be defended. There are no colonies that even dream of falling away from the Empire. Why should they? They have nothing to gain by separation, and they have much to lose. Their local liberties are complete; and the British navy ensures the safety of their commerce at sea. They have in the United Kingdom the best possible market for their produce; and they are at perfect liberty to buy in any market they please. They are not strong enough to defend themselves against attack, but they have the whole military and naval power, and the financial strength of the wealthiest nation in the world behind them. Mr Chamberlain calls himself an optimist; but this talk about the pending disruption of the Empire because there is no fiscal reciprocity is sheer pessimism.

Canada is held up as the great guide in the new Imperialism. But who in Canada asks for fiscal favours from the United Kingdom? You may travel from east to west and back again from west to east in Canada, and mix with all classes of the people, and never hear a farmer ask for better terms than are given to Americans in the British market. In the provinces of Quebec and Ontario you will find that men who wish to place on the English market perishable produce such as fresh butter, eggs, fowls, peaches, pears, or apples, are very anxious to see a quick ocean service of steamers put on the Atlantic. In Vancouver or New Westminster you will find shippers of fish, who wish to send frozen salmon to the London market, strongly in favour of the fast steam line. On the cattle ranches of Alberta the desire is not for reciprocity, but for the British door to be kept open for Canadian cattle. In the mining districts of British Columbia it is not reciprocity with the old country that is asked for, but a bounty on the product of the mines, to compensate for the American duty on ore that bars the British Columbian miner's way to prosperity, and a reduction in the heavy transport charges that add to the cost of machinery.

In Winnipeg and the great wheat-growing regions of Manitoba and the North-West territories, it is not privilege in the United Kingdom that is demanded, but improved transit facilities, so that Canadian wheat may more easily reach the British market.

There is not a farmer on the fertile prairie lands of Manitoba and the North-West who does not feel that he is on the best wheat-growing land in the world. What does he want with protection? What he desires is to see protection swept aside, so that he may get his machinery at a lower price and have railway facilities provided free from the burden of protective duties. Canada is advertised as the future granary of the Empire, not because of any hope of reciprocity, but because of the superior quality of its wheat, the vastness of its fertile prairies, and the resource and enterprise of its population. Thousands of Americans are crossing into Canada to grow wheat and rear cattle and sheep; and American capital is being invested in Canadian pulp mills, lumber mills, and other industries, not in the hope of tariff concessions in the United Kingdom, but because in the States the wood supply has become contracted, the land has been appropriated, and some has lost its fertility; while in Canada there are still thousands of square miles of forest, a vast area of exceptionally fertile virgin soil, and a less severe protective system than in the American Union. What the farmer of the North-West needs is not a fiscal change in England but improved railway facilities at his door, more steamers on Lake Superior, and broader and deeper canals to the St Lawrence, so that the wheat block that occurs every year may be removed, and his produce find ready access to the English market.

The demand for a differential duty on grain that is put forward on behalf of Canada was no part of Canada's policy in extending to this country preferential treatment. It was a mere afterthought. At a recent meeting of the Canadian Society of London, Mr Clifford Sifton, Canadian Minister of the Interior, said :—

‘Canadians in general considered the present political connexion as nearly as possible perfectly satisfactory, and they were content to let time solve the problems of the future. As for trade relations, Canada's position ought to be well known. When she inaugurated her preferential tariff in

1897, she did not come to Great Britain and say she wanted something in return; she simply said that for herself the new policy was sound, and if Great Britain thought it would be for her benefit to give Canada a preference, it would be thankfully accepted. Canada had not asked Great Britain to put a tax on breadstuffs, considering the people of this country much better qualified to judge whether that should be done; but, when it actually was done, Canada had said if a rebate of the duty were given on Canadian breadstuffs she would accept it thankfully. The Colonial Conference had thoroughly discussed the matter. Canada had then offered to revise her tariff so as to endeavour to enable the mother-country successfully to compete with the United States, Germany, or any other country. That had been embodied in an official memorandum from the Canadian Minister of Finance to the Colonial Secretary, and the position did not require to be restated. It was for Great Britain to say the next word, by deciding whether she desired such a policy to be followed. No self-respecting Canadian desired to ask for a one-sided tariff concession, or to intrude his opinion on Great Britain. Whatever might be her technical or fiscal relations with the Empire, Canada was destined to become a great British community, in time of peace a source of pride to the Empire, and in time of war a strong right arm' ('Times,' May 26).

Mr Sifton does not threaten the Empire with disruption if reciprocity be not granted. He considers the political relations of the mother-country and the colonies 'as nearly as possible perfectly satisfactory.' But, while it appears anything but clear that our colonies, as a whole, desire the introduction of preferential tariffs, it is quite certain that such a measure would seriously endanger existing friendly relations with other Powers, and especially those which at present are most friendly—France and the United States. It has repeatedly been pointed out of late in the French press that it is against the interest of France to quarrel with the country which is her best customer for dairy produce, wine, and other articles. With a tax on food, there would be one strong reason the less for France to remain on a friendly footing. As to the United States, it is difficult to conceive anything so likely to set the West against us, to rouse the latent animosity which has by no means burnt out, or to strengthen the hands of that party which longs to in-

corporate Canada in the Union, as a duty which would place American corn at a distinct disadvantage in the competition with Canadian. These reasons may be stigmatised as cowardly; but it is not the part of a prudent statesman to court general hostility abroad except for certain and largely counterbalancing advantages.

Imperial union, political and fiscal, is a grand ideal, and may some day be realised; but why prematurely interfere with the existing happy political relationship by inaugurating a policy that would raise the cost of products in the United Kingdom; that would not open foreign doors but make competition with foreigners more difficult; that instead of making for closer union of the Empire would introduce causes of controversy and conflict within the Empire itself; and that, though it might and probably would increase trade between the colonies and the mother-country, would cut down the growing export trade of the colonies to foreign countries, and, by the nature of things, increase our colonial purchases mainly at the cost of nations that do not compete with British manufacturers and are amongst our best customers?

Without regarding the question as closed, or deprecating a searching inquiry such as is promised, we believe that the balance of evidence so far is against Mr Chamberlain's proposals. One cannot read the recent debates in Parliament, or reflect upon the statistical evidence of American and German and Dutch progress in neutral markets, without feeling that there is ample room and need for inquiry. Mr Chamberlain's challenge to opponents to demonstrate that the fiscal changes he contemplates would not improve the material prosperity of the country has produced an immediate response. Very effective speeches on the lines of orthodox free trade principles have been made by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Mr Ritchie, by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr Asquith, and Sir Edward Grey, in the House of Commons. Lord Rosebery outside the House of Lords, and Lord Goschen, Lord Spencer, and other peers within it, have still more abundantly testified to the strength of the existing fiscal system, and to the dangers that may be involved in any new departure that would disturb our relations with foreign states and tax

the food of the people. But Lord Lansdowne has shown that in one direction international controversy has arisen already; and the Duke of Devonshire, speaking with special personal knowledge of industrial enterprise and great breadth of administrative experience, while avowing himself to be still an adherent of the existing fiscal system, and recognising as fully as Lord Goschen the primary obligation to reject any policy that will prejudicially affect the condition of the poor, admits that within recent years circumstances have arisen that call for investigation. The Duke of Devonshire differentiates between reciprocity with the colonies and retaliation against foreign nations; between the position of external trade and the vast interests of the home trade, and especially of the innumerable minor industries that in the aggregate are of incalculable value; and he is alive to the pernicious influence of Trusts and capitalist combinations upon the industry and commerce of the world.

These are matters that stand apart from ordinary problems of free trade and proposals for fiscal union within the Empire. Lord Rosebery suggests that a secret inquiry should have been held before issues so vital and controversial were flung down for public discussion. But a secret inquiry would not have enlightened the public mind, and might have resulted in a new policy being sprung upon the country on the eve of a general election. Now that these vast problems have been raised, it is no longer a question as to whether an inquiry is desirable; it is inevitable. Those who object to inquiry have to consider whether they would prefer a mere platform appeal to the passions of the populace and the purchase of a policy by a bribe in the form of old-age pensions. Let there be inquiry, and let it be as free and full and searching and thorough as Lord Goschen and all other men who have the unity and future prosperity of the United Kingdom and of the Empire at heart can desire. The essential thing is that the inquiry should be in the right hands, and that it should be, not a quest for evidence to support a special case or to buttress preconceived opinions or foregone conclusions, but an investigation intended to elicit the truth. This is no mere party question, nor is it a mere fiscal, nor solely a political question. It is the material prosperity of this



realm and the future of the Empire that are at stake. Every interest in the country is involved; and the voice of every interest should be heard. Chambers of Commerce may help in the investigation, but their sphere is narrow. Agricultural, mining, manufacturing, railway and shipping, banking, as well as the general mercantile and industrial interests, are all entitled to be heard, not through the haphazard medium of individuals privately approached on behalf of the government, but through their accredited spokesmen and authorised representatives. Such an inquiry would command respect, both at home and in the colonies. Its conclusions might be accepted by the colonies without any feeling of soreness or resentment. At home it would bring to bear upon new and perplexing problems the highest and most trusted expert opinions that the nation can command.

The eager and general approval which has greeted Lord Rosebery's letter to Lord Monckswell, putting forward a munificent scheme for the creation of a great institution for the more advanced study of scientific technology in London, proves that men's minds are not entirely carried away with the idea that reciprocity with the colonies and tariff bargains with foreign nations are the only means of maintaining our prosperity in trade.

In the debate in the House of Lords on June 29, Lord Selborne said the inquiry contemplated by the government was an inquest by the whole nation; and the Duke of Devonshire pointed out that Mr Chamberlain had invited public discussion, which must be supplementary to the inquiry in which the Cabinet itself was engaged. From Mr Chamberlain's speech at the Constitutional Club on June 26, it is evident that discussion is producing some effect, and that inquiry is needed even for the enlightenment of Mr Chamberlain himself.

The Colonial Secretary asks :—

'Is it a fact that the exports of our manufactured goods to our own colonies already exceed the total exports of our manufactured goods to all the protected States of Europe and the United States of America?'

The answer is that this is *not* a fact. He further asks whether it is not desirable to cultivate trade with ten millions of our own kinsmen, who take from us at the



present time 10*l.* per head, rather than attempt to conciliate three hundred millions of foreigners, who take from us a few shillings per head. The implied facts are *not* facts. Official statistics show that the total value of the exports of British produce to all the self-governing colonies in 1901 amounted to 51,896,000*l.*; and, as in the same year the white population of the colonies was not 10,000,000 but about 11,000,000, the average trade per head was less than 5*l.*, instead of Mr Chamberlain's 10*l.* As to the colonies taking more of our manufactures than go to Europe and America, our trade with the United States and Europe, excluding coal, consists mainly of manufactures; and, as the total value of manufactures exported in 1900 was almost exactly four times that of all the exports to the colonies, one need not go into detail to see that Mr Chamberlain is all astray in his statistics.

But he has a second question :—

'Is it the fact that our imports to these protected countries are continually, and of recent years rapidly, decreasing in quantity and deteriorating in their profitable character?'

Whether profits have been decreasing is a question for experts; but common-sense would say that, in a time of 'booming' prosperity, such as the country has recently enjoyed, when every mine and mill and workshop was running full time, wages were high, and income-tax returns were showing a strong upward movement, the range of profits must have been highly satisfactory. Instead of there having been a decline in trade in recent years, there has been a large increase all round. Between 1894 and 1900, the latest year for which the figures have been issued, the following advances are recorded: articles of food and drink from 10,700,000*l.* to 13,622,000*l.*; yarns and textile fabrics from 96,025,000*l.* to 102,212,000*l.*; metals and metal goods, except machinery, from 27,979,000*l.* to 45,347,000*l.*; machinery and mill work from 14,205,000*l.* to 19,620,000*l.*; apparel from 8,737,000*l.* to 10,394,000*l.*; chemicals from 8,471,000*l.* to 9,263,000*l.*; manufactured or partly manufactured articles by parcel post from 29,230,000*l.* to 47,953,000*l.* If the manufacturing plant of the country had been capable of a larger output, the increases would have been on an even larger scale, for business had to be turned away.

Mr Chamberlain, discussing the policy of free imports, wishes to know whether it is true that many once profitable industries have disappeared. He does not name any of these numerous vanished industries, but granting, what seems probable, that some industries have suffered, and even that some have disappeared, it is a well established economic law that capital flows into the most remunerative channels; and, if 'once profitable' industries have been abandoned for others that are more profitable, even at some temporary loss, there is no great reason for regret. Lord Onslow, in a speech at Peterborough on July 2, indicated that it is our great industries that are falling away.

'He was told' (he said) 'that in thirty years our woollen trade, our cotton trade, and our cutlery trade with foreign nations had fallen to half what it was.'

As a matter of fact the export of cotton piece goods has increased since 1871 by about 2,000,000,000 yards, but the woollen and hardware trades have fallen off. But no economist would take 1871 as a basis of comparison. That was the year of the Franco-German war, when we were doing the trade of the whole world; and to set up a comparison with that period, as though it represented normal British trade thirty years ago, is to be guilty of serious misrepresentation. Mr Chamberlain dreads the destruction of the iron trade and the textile industries by a flood of foreign manufactures that will be sold here below cost price. Lancashire has had to sell cotton goods at below cost price before now, when there has been overproduction; but that is an evil that soon brings self-cure, and the figures given above show that neither the textile nor the metal industries are yet in a condition to cause panic.

Mr Chamberlain's questions give ground for suspecting that he has propounded his new policy before looking into facts and thinking them out. Even when he speaks of retaliation, which we are now, at Mr Balfour's suggestion, to call negotiation, his ideas do not yet seem to be clear. By his reciprocity arrangements with the colonies he will attack every foreign nation and challenge retaliation that may lead to negotiation, but he will have tied his hands by his reciprocity agreements. Such agree-

ments would almost cut off the possibility of negotiation with the United States, whose staple trade is in foodstuffs; and in the case of European countries he would have to find some entirely new subjects for taxation as the basis on which he could drive a bargain. A man who wants 'something to bargain with' should not limit his own freedom of action. Nor is Mr Chamberlain in a more happy position when he considers what is to be done with the new revenue he wishes to raise. At first 'every penny' was to go to the working classes, and higher wages were to compensate for dearer bread. Now he suggests that, if the tea and other duties be diminished so as to make up for the tax on bread, there will be no increase in the cost of living. In that case there would be no need for an increase in wages, but there would also be no fund for old-age pensions, which he now says 'form no part whatever in the question of a reform in our fiscal policy.' 'An Economist,' now writing special articles in the 'Times,' seeks to prove that a rise in wages does not necessarily follow a rise in the price of food, and therefore that we may sell our manufactures as cheaply as before; but this argument will hardly appeal to the working man, however it may please the employer. On the other hand, we find Mr C. W. Macara, President of the Federation of Master Cotton-Spinners' Associations, writing as follows ('Times,' July 3):—

'I am convinced that, speaking generally, the margin of profit in the British cotton industry cannot be reduced without discouraging further investment in it; and in my opinion any legislation that would enhance the cost of production, either by taxation of food or raw material, would lead to the speedy destruction of an industry which, if statistics were available, would, I believe, be found to have provided employment, directly and indirectly, for more people in the United Kingdom than any other excepting agriculture.'

In short, though Mr Chamberlain undertakes to give more than he takes, no one, so far as we can see at present, would be economically one penny the better for the change, while our trade relations with the whole world would be seriously and prejudicially disturbed.

---

## Art. XIII.—POPE LEO XIII.

'Justitiam colui; certamina longa, labores,  
 Ludibria, insidias, aspera quaeque tuli.  
 At Fidei vindex non flectar; pro grege Christi  
 Dulce mori, ipsoque in carcere dulce mori.'

WELL-NIGH twenty years have elapsed since Leo XIII wrote these lines underneath his own portrait—twenty years during which he never flinched from maintaining the principles therein proclaimed. It is not our purpose to discuss in these pages the claims of Pope Leo XIII to theological greatness. The fact that the pontiff is now regarded, at least officially, as infallible by that branch of the Christian Church of which he is the spiritual head, at once precludes us from criticising Leo's theology and the reactionary effect which his devotion to the Thomist philosophy has had upon Roman Catholic doctrine. Criticism may not descend to controversy; it cannot logically be applied to infallibility. It is therefore with the statesman, the diplomatist, the individual, that we propose to deal, rather than with the claimant to supernatural gifts and superhuman attributes.

The voice of the Old and the New World is well-nigh unanimous in pronouncing Leo XIII a far-seeing statesman, a sagacious diplomatist, and a great Pope. The claim to greatness on the part of Leo XIII, or indeed on the part of any succeeding Roman pontiff, must rest upon successful leadership of a great political and social organisation which knows no distinction of race or nationality. It is therefore through no lack of reverence for his spiritual office that we turn our attention from the Vicar of Him whose kingdom was not of this world, to the restless politician for whom the triumph of the Church and the triumph of the Vatican were synonymous terms. It is as a statesman rather than as a priest that a dispassionate posterity will judge the successor of Pius IX; and we may, perhaps, assume that it was the ambition of Leo XIII to be so judged.

Summoned, in 1878, to guide the destinies of the Holy See at one of the most critical moments of its history, Leo XIII speedily applied himself to the task of re-organising the forces at his disposal. It was a tangled

skein which he took into his hands when he undertook the duties of government. The Vatican, despoiled of its temporal authority, saw its spiritual authority questioned, and even threatened, in every country in Europe. France, staggering under the weight of her recent disaster was a prey to a strong anti-clerical reaction, largely due to the disgust of the nation at the disputes which, until the actual outbreak of the war with Prussia, had raged between the Liberal Catholic party, headed by Mgr Dupanloup, and the Ultramontane faction, led by M. Veuillot and the 'Univers.' A not unreasonable distrust of both the disputing parties, and a natural dread lest the intrigues of the Catholics should result in compelling the government to interfere in favour of the restitution of the temporal power, strengthened the hands of the anti-clericals. Russia, since 1866, had severed all official communication with the Holy See, and had prohibited the Polish clergy from having any intercourse with the Vatican. Germany and Switzerland were in open hostility to the papacy, and their antagonism was but one of the many disastrous results of the Vatican Council. The bigotry which had driven the 'Old Catholic' body out of the Church had not only lost able and devout men to Roman Catholicism, but had aroused contempt and dislike for its methods in states and provinces of both countries in which its influence had once been paramount. Belgium, Austria, and even Spain, had revolted against the sacerdotal tyrannies of Rome, and had in some measure succeeded in freeing themselves from the moral and social stagnation of clericalism. The protestations, the allocutions, the briefs to the clergy, the notes to foreign governments, issued by Pius IX, had been of no avail. The spiritual arms, with which the Vatican had for so many centuries enthralled the human intellect, were blunted, if not altogether broken. The menaces of the Roman pontiff, which, in days for ever past, would have brought monarchs to their knees, fell almost unheeded on the ears of nations finally roused from the sleep of superstition. The world overlooked the violence of the language of the Pope in its sympathy with the kindly personality of the dispossessed sovereign, and remembered, with a reverent admiration, that one of his last acts was to bless the despoiler who, by so short

a space, preceded him to the grave. The place of Pius IX was to be filled by a Pope less human, less charitable, less lovable, and, we venture to think, notwithstanding the glamour which journalism has cast over his name, less great than his predecessor.

At the early age of eight Gioacchino Pecci was sent by his parents from the family home at Carpineto to the Jesuit College at Viterbo. We learn from one of his preceptors, Father Ballerini, who subsequently edited the Jesuit review '*La Civiltà Cattolica*,' that 'every one admired his keen intelligence and the goodness of his disposition.' The testimony of a fellow-scholar is less favourable. 'Domineering, and inclined to petty meanesses,' was the criticism of Cardinal Ferrieri, who went through his course of studies at the same time as the future Pope. It may be assumed that the latter qualities were judged with greater leniency by young Pecci's superiors in the college at Viterbo than by his fellow-pupils.

In 1824, when he was fourteen years of age, Gioacchino Pecci entered the Collegio Romano at Rome, which institution had recently been placed by Leo XII under the direction of the Society of Jesus. During his three years' course in this, the stronghold at that period of Jesuit training and influence, he distinguished himself above all his companions by the brilliancy of his examinations and by the zeal which he displayed for his studies. One of his most remarkable successes was gained before a large assembly of prelates and distinguished theologians in the great hall of the Collegio Romano. The youthful student delivered a lecture upon Indulgences and the Sacrament of Extreme Unction; and his casuistry was such as to attract the attention and, we are told, the surprise of the learned ecclesiastics who listened to it. At the age of twenty-one, having gained the highest honours in theology, he entered the College of Noble Ecclesiastics, in which youthful patricians intending to embrace the priesthood are trained in political economy, Catholic diplomacy, controversy, and other studies necessary to the career of the higher clergy of the Roman Church.

It would seem as if nature had intended Gioacchino Pecci to be a politician and a ruler rather than a priest. From the very outset of his career he was destined to rule the passions of men rather than to lead them by



their weaknesses; and it can scarcely be doubted that the training he received in boyhood from his Jesuit instructors developed the spirit of ambition and the desire for domination which have been such prominent features in the character of Leo XIII. Scarcely had Gioacchino Pecci been ordained priest, in December 1837, than Gregory XVI, who had already conferred upon the brilliant pupil of the Jesuits a minor post in the Vatican, sent him as delegate to Benevento. The appointment was more civil than ecclesiastical. Benevento, situated on the very outskirts of the States of the Church, lay geographically within the boundaries of the kingdom of Naples. The papal delegate was, in fact, prefect of a city and province which, at the time of Monsignor Pecci's appointment, was the most unruly of all the pontifical possessions. Owing to its position, the brigands and malefactors of the adjoining kingdom found here an easy refuge from the Neapolitan police; and the city of Benevento bore an evil name for lawlessness of every kind. The great feudal families refused to tolerate any interference on the part of either the Roman or the Neapolitan governments with their local rights and privileges. They openly encouraged and protected brigandage and any form of disorder which could embarrass the action of the civil authorities, and not unfrequently had powerful friends at court who successfully prevented any measures from being taken by the governments to punish their evil doings.

We will quote one example of Monsignor Pecci's methods of restoring law and order in the province which had been committed to his charge. The most powerful among the great nobles of the district had openly afforded to a band of notorious brigands the shelter and protection of his castle. On being required by the apostolic delegate to explain his action, he informed Monsignor Pecci that he intended to be master in his own house, and would suffer no interference.

'I am going to Rome' (he said) 'and shall return with an order for your dismissal in my pocket; and then we shall see, Monsignore, who is master here.'

'By all means go to Rome,' was Monsignor Pecci's reply; 'but, before going, you will go to prison for three months. Your diet will be bread and water.'



The threat was carried out. The castle of the insubordinate noble was seized by pontifical troops, and the brigands sheltered in it were killed or taken prisoners. In a very short space of time the city and province were freed from the scourge of brigandage, and the landed proprietors submitted to the authority of the government. It was thus, at twenty-seven years of age, that the future Pope showed that he would, and could, rule.

From Benevento Monsignor Pecci was sent to govern Perugia, a town which stood in as much need of firm government as the southern city. In 1841 Gregory XVI paid a visit in person to Perugia. The empty prisons and the tranquillity of the place impressed the Pope with the ability and discretion of its governor; and he determined to employ the talents of so valuable a servant in the larger fields of European diplomacy. Two years afterwards Monsignor Pecci was created Archbishop of Damietta, and despatched to the court of Leopold I as Nuncio to the Belgian government. The close relationship between King Leopold and the principal reigning families of Europe caused the court of Brussels to be one of the most important diplomatic centres on the Continent; and the papal Nuncio soon made himself a *persona gratissima* to the sovereign. The ability with which he conducted some delicate negotiations between the Church and the Belgian state raised him still higher in the favour of Gregory XVI. The climate of Brussels, however, was prejudicial to his health, and he petitioned the Pope to recall him. Before returning to Rome Monsignor Pecci visited Paris and London, remaining in the latter capital for some time, and lodging, as he once informed us, in or near Regent Street.

When the ex-Nuncio reached Rome he found Gregory XVI at the point of death, and unable to accord him an audience, in which to deliver an autograph letter from the King of the Belgians warmly recommending Monsignor Pecci to the papal favour. A few days afterwards Cardinal Mastai Ferretti was elected to the chair of St Peter in the place of Monsignor Pecci's patron and benefactor.

Between the new Pope, Pius IX, and the young diplomatist there was, if we may credit those who enjoyed the friendship of both, little personal attachment. The simpler, more genial nature of Pius IX had but small

affinity with the colder and sterner spirit of his future successor. Pius IX, indeed, was keenly susceptible to being bored, and, we believe, was indiscreet enough to declare to more than one of the prelates with whom he was on terms of intimacy, that Monsignor Pecci was a *seccatore*, an opinion which doubtless reached the latter's ears and wounded the personal vanity that, throughout his life, was a marked feature in the character of Leo XIII.

On his retirement from the Nunciature at Brussels, Gregory XVI, in reply to an earnest request of the municipality of Perugia, had preconised Monsignor Pecci archbishop of that city, and at the same time had created him cardinal *in petto*. It was not, however, until December 1853 that Pius IX ratified this honour, and the Archbishop of Perugia received the purple.

The episcopacy of Monsignor Pecci at Perugia was beset by troubles and difficulties. The republican revolution of 1848-9, the invasion of the Piedmontese in 1860, and finally, the collapse of the temporal sovereignty of the papacy, and the union, after long centuries of clerical usurpation, of the States of the Church with the kingdom of Italy, were political and social events which tested to the full the temper and firmness of the archbishop of so turbulent a city and province as Perugia. We venture to assert that at no period of his career did Pope Leo XIII show himself to be greater than during the troubled years of his archiepiscopate. While Pius IX fled, or, from his retirement in the Vatican, issued ineffectual protests, Monsignor Pecci acted; and his energetic action commanded the respect, and occasionally the fear, of the adversaries of the papacy as a temporal power. In 1860 he issued a pastoral letter to his people, which was a brilliant defence of the legality of the temporal sovereignty of the popes, and of the necessity for its maintenance. The casuistry learned at Viterbo and in the Collegio Romano, and burnished, perhaps, at Brussels, was employed to the full in this and other pronouncements of the Archbishop of Perugia against political liberty. The uncompromising spirit of Ultramontanism flashes forth in nearly every sentence of these declarations. As in the briefs and encyclicals of the Pope, so in the epistles and pronouncements of the Cardinal-Archbishop, the language is evenly balanced. Weakness of

argument or position is deftly enwrapped in a logic the flaws in which are not easy to uncover. Immoderate or violent expression, such as is to be met with in the protests of Pius IX, and which suggests the scepticism of its originator as to the soundness of his cause, is but seldom condescended to by Leo XIII at any period of his career. The writer believes what he writes, or, if he does not, he is clever reasoner enough to convince his readers that he does so.

We confess that we are unable to understand how it is that the name of Leo XIII has been associated with liberality of view or conciliatory tendencies. The inflexible spirit of Latin ecclesiasticism, the subtle power of manipulating the human mind acquired, almost in boyhood, by the brilliant student of the Humanities, lurk in well-nigh every phrase written by Gioacchino Pecci, whether as monsignor, cardinal, or pope. As Archbishop of Perugia, Monsignor Pecci was the uncompromising opponent of Victor Emmanuel and the Piedmontese government. He protested strenuously against the introduction of the civil marriage laws into the Umbrian province, as well as against that of the royal *exsequatur*. He denounced in no measured terms the attempts made to distribute translations of the Bible in his archdiocese. A remonstrance addressed to the King, couched in language such as Ambrose of Milan might have employed, against the wholesale spoliation and sequestration of monastic property in Umbria, brought Victor Emmanuel in person to Perugia. Cardinal Pecci declined to acknowledge his presence in the cathedral city. His resolute yet respectful refusal to surrender the civil rights claimed by the Church within the boundaries of the alleged patrimony of St Peter, not less than the admirable organisation of his diocese, gained for Cardinal Pecci the consideration of the Italian government; and the King issued orders that greater moderation was to be shown by the government officials in their dealings with ecclesiastical property and religious institutions in Umbria.

Cardinal Pecci recorded his vote at the Vatican Council in 1870 in favour of the newly formulated dogma of Infallibility—that fatal claim which, while thunder-clouds overhung the Vatican and lightning rent the heavens, was announced to a dismayed and astonished world.

In 1876, shortly after the death of Cardinal Antonelli, Cardinal Pecci resigned the Archbishopric of Perugia and came to Rome. The office of 'Cardinal Camerlengo,' to which Pius IX appointed him, gave him a post in the Curia. On February 9, 1878, Pius IX died; and Cardinal Pecci, by right of his office, assumed the direction of the Vatican pending the election of a new pontiff. The Conclave, on the 20th of the same month, elected Gioacchino Pecci, by a large majority of votes, to fill the papal chair. It is, we believe, an open secret that the members of the Conclave were by no means unanimous in their desire that Cardinal Pecci should be elevated to the supreme dignity. The election was the result of a compromise. A very powerful section of the Sacred College was desirous that Cardinal Franchi should be the successor to Pius IX. There were two grave objections, however, to his election, namely, his comparative youth, and his pronounced liberal and conciliatory tendencies. The Cardinal Camerlengo was already an old man, whose health was supposed to be by no means good. He was known to be resolute, a skilful diplomatist, and a clever organiser. His relations with the Italian government during his administration of the diocese of Perugia had proved him to be capable of safeguarding the interests of the Church, and, at the same time, of acting with tact and moderation in his dealings with the Church's arch-enemy.

If there existed any party within the Church which hoped that a new pontiff would adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the Italian monarchy, such hopes were doomed to a speedy disappointment. Cardinal Pecci would have been the last man to withdraw from the strong and secure position which his predecessor had taken up. Even had he desired a *rapprochement* with the government of King Humbert, it is hardly conceivable that those who elected him to the papal throne would have permitted any steps to be taken towards reconciliation. The 'captivity' of the head of the Church was already a powerful moral weapon. Its inventors had discovered, moreover, that, besides creating a species of political *impasse*, it was a valuable pecuniary asset in the hands of the Vatican.

The policy to which Pius IX committed the papacy

was not only continued by his immediate successor; but, guided by the firm hand, and moulded in accordance with the wider ambitions of Leo XIII, has given to the Vatican an influence in international politics which it has not possessed since the Middle Ages. We do not hesitate to affirm that, while the progress of Roman Catholicism, in the spiritual and legitimate sense of the term, has been stationary in some countries and retrograde in others, the power and influence of Vaticanism has increased under Leo XIII and his advisers to a remarkable and, as we think, a prejudicial degree.

It will not have escaped the observation of those interested in the fluctuations of public opinion, that a wave of what may be termed mediævalism invaded the world in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Nor will the student of human nature wonder that such a retrograde phase of thought should have manifested itself. Each decade has witnessed some startling scientific discovery, some unmasking of inaccuracies, frauds, or forgeries, hitherto regarded as historical or religious truths. Christianity itself has at times appeared to totter beneath the blows levelled against it by the so-called Higher Criticism. That the position of Christianity has been strengthened rather than the reverse by scientific research is, we believe, an opinion which many of our readers will share with us. It must not be forgotten, however, that the secrets of science have become the property of the unscientific, and that the latter have too frequently employed their superficial knowledge to form conclusions from which the true scientist recoils with a reverent consciousness of his own ignorance. By such teachers authority has been destroyed; and doubt, bewilderment, and atheism have taken the place of trust and faith among many of their disciples. We hold it to be one of the most remarkable characteristics of Pope Leo XIII that he was acute enough accurately to gauge the temper and spirit of his age, to realise that out of its intellectual strength must proceed weakness, and to utilise this weakness to the advantage of Vaticanism, and convert it into a social and political force by means of which the papacy should once again be the supreme ruler and arbitrator of the destinies of nations. That the ambition of the statesman deceived and betrayed the judgment of the ecclesi-

astic will, we venture to believe, be admitted by future chroniclers of the pontificate of Leo XIII; and his predecessor Pius IX, though a less brilliant figure, will be regarded as the more spiritual Pope, in that he neither overrated the forces at his disposal nor permitted them to sow religious and civil discord through the medium of political and journalistic agitators.

The political thesis of Leo XIII was identical with that of Pius IX in its outward and superficial expression. The condemnations launched by the 'Syllabus' against the modern reconstruction of society were reiterated and confirmed by the late pontiff; and the same ideal of an universal Christian community, to be guided and controlled by the Roman Catholic Church, equally pervaded the public utterances of both Pius IX and his successor. But a careful study of the encyclicals of Leo XIII shows that, though the ideal of both pontiffs may have been the same, a very remarkable difference existed between the methods by which the two rulers of the Roman Church sought to further its realisation.

The protests of Pius IX against a new social order, oblivious or wilfully neglectful of the traditional claims of the Church to supremacy over the actions of men, were couched in the language of a betrayed and embittered sovereign compelled by circumstances to regard himself as the infallible mouthpiece of an offended deity. Yet it may be affirmed that, notwithstanding the charm of his personality, and the sympathy which even those most opposed to the Vatican entertained for the dispossessed monarch, his spiritual threats and expostulations rarely or never succeeded in gaining more than the passing attention of that human society to which they were addressed. It was far otherwise with the messages directed by Leo XIII to a world in which the old order is daily yielding place to the new. His frequent and voluminous pronouncements form, as it were, a corollary to his policy, a consistent expository of the restless ambition and, we may add, of the intellectual vanity inherent in his character.

The encyclical '*Inscrutabili Dei*' (April 21, 1878), published within a few weeks of the elevation of Cardinal Pecci to the papal throne, already struck a new note in pontifical manifestos. After a somewhat formal recogni-



tion of the virtues of his predecessor, Leo XIII recorded his protest against the suppression of the temporal power of the Church, and solemnly asserted his intention to adhere to the position taken up by Pius IX. Such a declaration on the part of the newly elected pontiff was obligatory, and, we believe, in accordance with an oath exacted by the Sacred College on his acceptance of the supreme dignity; but from the position then taken up he never departed. The key-note of the document in question may be said to have been that of every similar pronouncement subsequently made by Leo XIII; but it is characteristic of the man that he should have struck it with so firm a hand in this his first encyclical. The evils which threaten to disintegrate society were at once enumerated and deplored by the Pope, and their existence attributed to the refusal of the world to submit to the divinely ordained supremacy, temporal and spiritual, of the Holy See. In the demonstration of the disease and its causes we find, indeed, no new departure from the traditional complaints of Pius IX, of which the world outside the Roman communion had grown not a little weary. It is rather in the treatment of the social evils deplored by Leo XIII, and the remedy suggested for them, that we discover the first threads of the policy which was to be the dominant feature of his pontificate.

The vastness of the theme and the limited space at our disposal forbid quotation. We confine ourselves, therefore, to noting that Leo XIII makes two separate and distinct appeals which we are almost tempted to qualify as appeals to the classes and to the masses. To the latter he points out that only by submitting to the supreme guidance of the Holy See can they secure to themselves a true civilisation—namely, a condition of prosperity, tranquillity, and freedom from oppression. To the former, to the sovereigns of the earth and the heads of states, he offers the aid of the Church, by recognition of whose authority they can alone hope to ensure their own safety and position, as well as the order and well-being of their peoples. One other point in the '*Inscrutabili Dei*,' though but slightly touched, appeals to observers of the political career of Leo XIII. In alluding to the instances in which those who have refused to submit to the authority of the Holy See have culled the



bitter fruits of their error, Leo XIII turns somewhat abruptly from the West to the East. He declares that Oriental repudiation of the supremacy of the Apostolic See has bereft Eastern Christendom of the splendour of its ancient reputation, of the glory of its sciences and literature, and of the dignity of its empire.

In the '*Inscrutabili Dei*'—which, like most of the literary compositions of Leo XIII, is marked by a frequent suggestiveness only too rare in ecclesiastical writings—we find the germs of his political programme, and the clue to his most cherished aspirations. Social problems occupy the immediate attention of the Holy Father, and are by him made to form, as it were, a startling and lurid background; a chaotic setting from which the figure of the despoiled Church stands forth, serene, confident, 'a very present help in time of trouble.' But to obtain this help, to enjoy the peace and prosperity which Leo XIII offered to the world, princes and peoples must accept the Church's terms; and these terms are nothing less than unqualified submission to the authority, temporal and spiritual, of the Vatican.

This is the ideal of Leo XIII, the scope and aim of his policy, the goal of his diplomacy. It may be said to have been equally the ideal of every Roman pontiff from the time of the Emperor Constantine to the present day. We believe, however, that it was reserved for Leo XIII, owing partly to the condition of society during the period of his pontificate, partly to the peculiar individuality and training of the astute Italian himself, and largely to the influence of those who, yet more astute than he, were ever at his side, to transfer this ideal from the dreamland of sacerdotal ambition to the sphere of practical politics. The formation, in every state where it was possible, of a Catholic parliamentary party, pledged to advance the interests, temporal and spiritual, of the Vatican; the securing of the sympathy and goodwill of the working classes in every country to the Roman Catholic Church; the submission of the Oriental Churches to the supremacy of the Holy See—such were the three cardinal aims of Leo XIII's policy, aims separate in themselves, but converging to a common and supreme object.

No language of our own could, we are convinced, more clearly explain the ultimate aim of this triple policy than

the following words which we quote from the recognised organ of the Society of Jesus, the 'Civiltà Cattolica.' They were written as a definition of the claims of the Holy See, and are embodied in an article on the International Tribunal of Arbitration at the Hague.

'The Papacy,' wrote the 'Civiltà Cattolica,' 'is the supremacy (*magistero*) of truth in the world—of speculative truth regarding the origin and end of things, and of practical or moral truth regarding all human actions. This supremacy embraces *de jure* all peoples and all States; *de facto*, it already comprises the whole civilised world. . . . Moreover, this supremacy is infallible; and though its direct objects are religious truths, natural truths are therein comprehended in virtue of the infinite contact between truths natural and religious. Moral truths, therefore, and the morality of all human actions, without exception, are subject to that supremacy.' ('Civiltà Cattolica,' Nov. 3, 1900.)

In his second encyclical 'Quod Apostolici' (December 28, 1878), Leo XIII denounced rationalism as the source of socialism, communism, and nihilism. The great Protestant 'heresy' of the sixteenth century was, he declared, responsible for the growth of these social cankers. The governments of Russia, Germany, and Switzerland, alarmed at the spread of subversive doctrines in their respective countries, welcomed the pronouncements of the Roman pontiff in favour of law and order. The indifference or open hostility which had characterised their attitude towards the Holy See during the pontificate of Pius IX gave place to a desire to cultivate more friendly relations with the head of a great religious body who had seized the first opportunity of throwing the weight of his influence on the side of established authority. The Vatican, hitherto content to launch peevish and impotent protests against the misdoings of society, was about to adopt another policy. Leo XIII, unlike his predecessor, showed himself to be not insensible to the advantages of making friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. Where Pius IX, conscious only of his spiritual mission, had offended, Leo XIII sought to conciliate. The diplomatist recognised in the social problems which were disturbing and perplexing rulers and governments a possible means of restoring to the papacy its shattered authority.

We have already alluded to the reinstatement by Leo XIII of the philosophy of St Thomas Aquinas in the position which it originally occupied in Roman Catholic thought. We would, were it possible to do so, refrain from touching upon this point. It is difficult, however, if not impossible, to avoid intrusion into the domain of theology in any critical appreciation of the policy of the head of a Church which has ever resorted to the elastic theories of that science as a means whereby to further its political designs. In 1879 appeared an encyclical enjoining the readoption by Catholic schools and colleges of the Christian philosophy as taught by the 'Angelic Doctor,' Thomas Aquinas. This publication was supplemented in August 1880 by a brief in which the Pope condescended to give some of the reasons which had decided him once more to impress the seal of the Thomist philosophy upon the teaching of the Latin Church.

'We are convinced,' wrote Leo XIII, 'that the Thomist doctrine possesses, in a pre-eminent degree, a singular force and virtue to cure those evils by which our epoch is afflicted. We are of opinion that the time has arrived to add this new honour to the immortal glory of Thomas Aquinas. Here, then, is the chief motive which so determines us: it is because St Thomas is the most perfect model in the divers branches of science that Catholics can take to themselves. . . . His doctrine is so vast that, like the sea, it embraces all that has come down to us from the ancients . . . because his doctrine, being composed of, and, as it were, armed by principles permitting of a great breadth of application, satisfies the necessities, not of one epoch only, but of all time; and because it is very efficacious in conquering those errors which are perpetually being reborn.'

Without pausing to examine the tendencies of the philosophy in question, we may here affirm that the reasons given by Pope Leo XIII for his anxiety to see the theories of the 'Angelic Doctor' restored to their former position in Roman Catholic intellectual training, were secondary reasons only. Under the more liberal-minded direction of Pius IX the philosophy of the great theologian and ideologist, Rosmini, had gradually but surely triumphed over the narrow and reactionary theories of the Thomist teaching. Regarded with suspicion and

dislike by the Jesuits and the Ultramontane faction in the Roman Church, the learned and generous-minded priest was harassed and persecuted even to the death by those who dreaded lest the pure and noble philosophy unfolded in his writings should weaken the hold of superstition over an uncertain or ignorant humanity. For many years no effort was spared, no means left untried, to induce Pius IX to place the works of Rosmini upon the 'Index.' That Pope, however, himself a profound admirer of the Rosminian philosophy, persistently refused to gratify the hatred of the Jesuit and Ultramontane party by thus officially declaring its unorthodoxy. Notwithstanding the intrigues which had for their object the eliciting of an adverse decision on the part of the Congregation of the Index—intrigues which even the sudden and mysterious death of Rosmini, seized with fatal illness after celebrating Mass, did not arrest—Pius IX refused to lend his infallible judgment to promote the triumph of the Thomists; and the Rosminian philosophy remained uncondemned.

Ecclesiastical hatred, however, is not easily turned aside; and the pupil of Viterbo was more readily persuaded to satisfy the desire of the Jesuits than had been his predecessor in the chair of St Peter. By order of Leo XIII the enquiry into the orthodoxy of Rosmini's writings was reopened; and forty important propositions in his philosophy were condemned by the Congregation of the Index, which condemnation was confirmed by the Pope. It was in vain that prominent ecclesiastics, such as the late Cardinal-Prince Hohenlohe, protested against the injustice of this decision, and pointed out the contradiction of papal infallibility involved in the reversal, by an infallible pontiff, of a pronouncement delivered by his equally infallible predecessor. The forty propositions of Rosmini were condemned, and the Jesuits and their party gained their point. Cardinal Hohenlohe, as one of the chief supporters of the hated exponent of a purer and more liberal Catholic philosophy, was made to feel the consequence of his opposition, and was ever afterwards a *persona ingrata* at the Vatican. Thus the hopes of the adoption of a more liberal and conciliatory policy, and, we may add, of a more Christian spirit, by the Roman Church, were swept away. By the reintroduction of the

\*

reactionary philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, Leo XIII was enabled to inaugurate that relapse into mediævalism which, while gaining for Vaticanism a temporary triumph, will, we venture to believe, detract in no small degree from the favourable verdict of future generations on the claim of Leo XIII to lasting greatness either as Pope or as statesman.

The effects of the papal declarations in favour of the Thomist philosophy were not long in making themselves felt in Roman Catholic Christendom. There are few features so remarkable in the pontificate of Leo XIII as the rapid recrudescence of that credulity in the miraculous and the supernatural which the more intelligent portion of humanity will continue to regard as mediæval superstition, and in which students of anthropology will recognise the legacy of ages yet darker than that to which the 'Angelic Doctor' addressed his theoretic philosophy. In France and in Italy a catholicised form of animism has succeeded in attracting a very considerable proportion of adherents. It is unnecessary to point to the influence exerted in the former country by such places as Lourdes; and we prefer to dismiss as hastily as possible such impostures as Loreto, Genazzano, and, more repellent than either of these in its origin and maintenance, the shrine, recently 'revealed,' of the so-called 'Madonna di Pompei' in Italy. Interesting and instructive from a psychological point of view as this modern form of animism, encouraged and clothed in Christian symbolism, may be, its development under Leo XIII presents a special claim to our attention. This development we believe to have been the result of a profound observation of humanity, discovering in it a means whereby to strengthen and extend a policy long conceived and skilfully elaborated.

Leo XIII's immediate predecessors had been content to launch their condemnations against the spirit of infidelity and rebellion, of scepticism and the pursuit of strange gods, which was distracting the modern world; but the mind of Gioacchino Pecci was more subtle, and, we may add, more typically Italian than that of Pius IX or that of Gregory XVI. He realised, as no Roman pontiff of modern times has realised, that the Vatican must fight its enemies with their own weapons. We need not here

consider whether the Vicar of Christ was worthily fulfilling his spiritual part in thus condescending to utilise the weaknesses and the passions of humanity to further the triumph of the Church; or whether the serene consciousness of superiority to worldly methods which characterised the policy and actions of Pius VII and Pius IX in days of adversity did not reflect a truer and brighter glory on the papacy as a spiritual power than that cast upon it by the more mundane attitude of Leo XIII.

As a statesman, Leo XIII was quick to grasp the weapon by which the Vatican might hope to recover the ground it had lost in the arena of international politics. Official condemnation of the state of society by encyclical and brief did not prevent the Pope from striving to turn to the advantage of the Vatican the very evils he deplored. The death-blow dealt to Rosminianism at the instance of the Jesuits could not but impart fresh vigour to the already increasing current of mediævalism. It may be assumed that Leo XIII was well aware that the dogmatic philosophy of Thomas Aquinas would gain rather than lose adherents in proportion as men's minds became ever more and more perplexed and unsettled in consequence of the inroads made by science and social disorders upon their religious faith. There has always been, however, another element in mediævalism besides the intellectual; and the importance of this element assuredly did not escape the notice of Pope Leo XIII. We refer to its financial capabilities, and, if we may adopt the term, its commercial value. How profitable financially and how valuable commercially are the worship of the Madonna and the saints, and the exploitation of their personal interposition in the most trivial of human affairs for which mediæval Vaticanism is wholly responsible, may be inferred from the prodigious wealth in money and lands accumulated by the religious confraternities in France, Italy, and other countries during the last twenty years. In France recent events have drawn public attention to the financial power of these confraternities. It is not so generally known, however, that in Rome itself, where the impious despoilers of the Church are said to reign supreme, the property held by religious orders is many times in excess of that which they were allowed to hold in the city under the papal government, and that



many of the most valuable sites in the Italian capital are in their hands.

The financial policy of Pope Leo XIII will form not the least interesting and important chapter in the history of his pontificate. We cannot at present do more than allude to such organisations as the clerical banks and loan agencies which spread like a network through the length and breadth of France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, and parts of Germany. These, and the lucrative proceeds of the shrines, together with the sums realised by the sale of the products of unpaid labour in conventual establishments, more especially in those under French direction, have, during the late pontificate, poured an ever-increasing stream of wealth into the coffers of the confraternities themselves, and, indirectly, into those of the Vatican.

Another prolific source of revenue is found in the large sums extracted by the international clerical press from the middle and working classes, alike in the country districts and manufacturing towns, through such mediums as St Anthony of Padua and similar personages, wholly innocent of the impostures foisted upon them by the modern Church. The vast influence, both social and political, which the clerical press has acquired in the last few years is hardly, if at all, realised in England. Leo XIII neglected no opportunity of identifying himself with Ultramontane journalism; and we are unable to forget that such papers as 'La Croix,' 'La Voce della Verità,' and similar publications, received his encouragement, approval, and support. At the same time the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary has been, during the late pontificate, extended to a degree unparalleled in the annals of Western Christianity. The devotion known as the Rosary has been recommended with a special insistence by Leo XIII, the month of October dedicated to its daily use, and the invocation, 'Regina Sanctissimi Rosarii, ora pro nobis,' added by his direction to the Litany of Loreto.

Such concessions to Ultramontanism, and particularly to French Ultramontanism, are interesting rather on account of their political and, we may add, financial significance than on account of their theological aspect. We are not aware of a single religious ordinance of general importance, from which political motives can be



dissociated, having been promoted by Leo XIII. We are likewise unaware of any instance in which the late pontiff suffered local Catholic interests to jeopardise the consummation of his political ideal. We think of Poland, of Finland, of Armenia, and—a more striking example than any of these—of Italy, as we write these words.

The policy adopted by Leo XIII towards the two great nations of France and Germany was, we venture to think, the most remarkable feature of his pontificate. The order given to the French Catholics to 'rally' round the Republic surprised and puzzled Europe, and was regarded in some quarters as a proof of the liberal and conciliatory spirit which animated the Pope. The famous toast of Cardinal Lavigerie, accompanied by the strains of the 'Marseillaise,' appeared to set the seal of a formal recognition by the Vatican of the right of peoples to choose their own form of government, and to emphasise the duty of the minority loyally to submit to the rule chosen by the majority. Royalists and Bonapartists alike found themselves wounded in their most cherished feelings by the sudden action of the Vatican. The fruits of this abrupt change of policy were speedily reaped by the Roman Church. The restrictive measures by which the monastic establishments and religious confraternities had been oppressed were largely modified by the government of the Republic. In less than ten years these institutions multiplied in numbers and increased in riches to such an extent as to become a danger both to the state and to the community. The money of the ignorant and the superstitious, of religious fanatics and political intriguers alike, flowed into their coffers. Nominally a refuge from the troubles and temptations of the world, many of them rapidly became centres from which the political propaganda of Vaticanism insinuated itself throughout the length and breadth of France. The bishops and the secular clergy found their legitimate influence and authority undermined and absorbed by the regular ecclesiastical bodies. The interests of the Church had once again been sacrificed to the financial greed and political ambition of Vaticanism. The worst and most dangerous passions of the community were aroused through appeals to intolerance and fanaticism daily published by an unscrupulous press, largely organised and maintained by the proceeds

of frauds and impostures practised in the name of dead men and women and approved of by the Vatican. Anti-semitism, Anglophobia, sectarian and racial hatreds of every kind, have been eagerly seized upon and exploited as means whereby to foment that spirit of civil strife and discord which Pope Leo XIII, notwithstanding his published utterances in favour of peace and goodwill among men, was often compelled indirectly to utilise, if by so doing he could advance one step towards the realisation of his political dream, and satisfy the insatiable ambition of the party to which he owed his election to the papal chair.

The effects of Leo XIII's policy in France have shown themselves during the last few months. Church and state find themselves engaged in a conflict which can only be detrimental to the true interests of both. We may discover in the French policy of Pope Leo XIII a striking example not only of that cynical opportunism which has characterised his relations with foreign governments, but also of his failure as a statesman to estimate at their true value the forces upon which he ever relied to advance his political ideal. We would not readily impute to the head of the Church so subtle and Machiavellian a design as deliberately to sow the seeds of civil and religious strife in the French Republic, in the Austrian and German Empires, and in the kingdoms of Italy, Belgium, and Hungary, in order ultimately to strengthen the position of the Vatican by compelling a distracted Europe to purchase the political and moral support of the Holy See at its own terms. Nevertheless, we are unable to close our eyes to the fact that whereas, under Pius IX and his immediate predecessors, the policy of the Vatican was a defensive policy, under Leo XIII, the pupil of the Jesuits, the apologist of Thomas Aquinas, it became offensive. The world was bidden, at the dawn of the twentieth century, to place itself once more under the influence of the dark and narrow philosophy by which men's minds were swayed in the thirteenth; nor can any fresh triumph of Vaticanism be regarded as other than a retrograde step towards a condition of society happily long outlived by civilised communities.

A more successful and, we may add, a more honest policy was that adopted by Leo XIII towards Germany.

In the latter country alone can the recent practice of bartering Catholic support to the government in exchange for concessions made to the Church be said to have been advantageous to the Vatican. The passing of the so-called May Laws by the Prussian diet, and the persecution, under the name of the *Kulturkampf*, of the Roman Church which followed their institution, resulted in a condition of things which had apparently been unforeseen by Bismarck and his Minister of Public Worship, Falk. The immediate effect of the May Laws was the consolidation in the Reichstag of the hitherto impotent Centre or Ultramontane party. In March 1871, 63 deputies formed the Centre party, representing an aggregate poll of 724,837 votes. The reaction invariably consequent on persecution enabled the Ultramontanes to return 91 deputies to the Reichstag in January 1874, representing an aggregate of 1,445,948 votes; and in 1887, 98 deputies, representing 1,516,222 voters, enabled the once unimportant Centre to turn the scale for or against the Imperial Chancellor's cherished measure known as the Septennate Bill, by which Prince Bismarck aimed at maintaining the peace footing of the army at a heightened figure for a term of seven years.

The first step on the part of Leo XIII towards conciliation with the Prussian government was taken on February 19, 1878. In a letter to the German Emperor bearing this date, written immediately after his election, the Pope expressed his regret at the unfriendliness of the relations existing between Germany and the Holy See, and trusted that the Emperor William would grant liberty of conscience to his Catholic subjects. The Emperor replied on March 24, reciprocating the Pope's sentiments, but adding that the re-establishment of friendly relations between Germany and the Vatican must depend upon the willingness of German Catholics to conform to the laws of the Empire. On April 17 Leo XIII again wrote, hinting that the modification of the May Laws would be the surest means to promote a renewal of the good understanding formerly existing between the governments. Shortly afterwards occurred the attempt by Nobiling on the Emperor's life; and the Pope wrote a third time, offering his congratulations on the sovereign's escape. This letter was answered on

June 30 by the Crown Prince Frederick, who had temporarily assumed the regency during the Emperor's recovery from the wound inflicted by his would-be murderer. The Crown Prince asserted the impossibility of modifying in a Roman Catholic sense any laws enacted by the Prussian Diet. He represented that any such modification would imply a readiness on the part of Prussia to adapt her home policy to the exigencies of a foreign government. The Prince, nevertheless, expressed his willingness to consider any proposals of conciliation in a Christian spirit. At this time eight Catholic sees were vacant, owing to death or eviction, in Prussia; four hundred parishes were without their priests; all religious orders were expelled; and state aid to Catholic worship was withdrawn.

On July 18 of the same year (1878) Bismarck went to Kissingen, where he was met by the papal Nuncio to Bavaria, Monsignor (afterwards Cardinal) Masella. All attempts, however, to discover a *modus vivendi* between the Holy See and the Prussian government failed. Negotiations were nevertheless renewed in the following year at Gastein, between the Chancellor and Monsignor Jacobini, the future Cardinal-Secretary of State, at that time Nuncio in Vienna. These negotiations were followed by others between Prince Reuss, former ambassador to Austria, and Monsignor Jacobini, the latter being assisted by a special councillor sent from the Foreign Office in Berlin. Notwithstanding these efforts, no settlement could be arrived at; and negotiations between Prussia and the Vatican were broken off.

On January 5, however, the government of Baden brought the *Kulturkampf* to an end in that duchy by the adoption of a convention regarding the *exsequatur* of bishops. On February 24, 1880, Leo XIII addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Cologne, declaring that the Church might 'tolerate' the notification to the state of episcopal appointments; which point was, in fact, the basis of the *Kulturkampf*. In March, the Prussian ministry signified its willingness to adopt this concession, but declared that Prussia would wait for its realisation in deed, thus throwing upon the Pope the responsibility of taking the first active step towards conciliation. Leo XIII immediately withdrew his offer of 'toleration.' From

this moment Prussia began to yield; and the Iron Chancellor found himself obliged to make fresh concessions in order to secure the votes of the Centre party, which his mistaken policy with regard to the Church had raised to importance in the Reichstag. The presence of the Emperor at the completion of Cologne Cathedral was a fresh proof of the conciliatory attitude of his government. The vacant sees were filled up by the state in accordance with the wishes of the Vatican. Concession followed concession, without a single counter-concession on the part of the Holy See. In April 1882 Herr von Schlözer was appointed Prussian Minister to the Vatican; but even this triumph was not sufficient to satisfy the demands of the Ultramontane party. During 1883 Bismarck restored the evicted Bishop of Limburg and numerous parish priests to their posts, and renewed the state subsidies to the Bishops of Hildesheim, Ermeland, and Kulm. The single concession granted in return by Leo XIII was a permission to parish priests, 'for the past only, and in this single instance,' to notify to the government the resumption of their functions. In September 1885 the German Chancellor finally made up his mind to 'go to Canossa,' and formally invited the arbitration of the Pope on the dispute with Spain regarding the Caroline Islands.

In this one instance the political vanity of Leo XIII was gratified—a Pope once again dictated his will to the sovereigns of the earth. Further concessions were claimed by the Vatican; and in 1886 the Prussian government introduced a Bill largely modifying the control of the state over clerical education. This Bill was, however, thrown out by the Upper House; and Leo XIII then considered it to be politic to publish a Note (April 8, 1886) imposing upon all priests the duty of obtaining the *exsequatur* from the Prussian government, on condition that the latter should make further modifications in the May Laws, and that all religious orders, save that of the Society of Jesus, should be readmitted by the state. Bills to this effect were introduced and passed by the Diet in April 1887, notwithstanding the opposition of some of the more violent Ultramontanes, who were unwilling, by obeying the Pope, to make any concession to the government. These measures were the price paid to the Vatican

for a Note issued to the papal Nuncio in Munich, commanding the Catholics of the Centre party in the Reichstag to vote in favour of the Military Septennate Bill.

The action of the pontiff, however, created ill-feeling on the part of the Centre party towards the Vatican; and from that time the influence of Leo XIII in the Empire began slowly to decline. The insatiable political ambition of the Pope, and of those who shaped his policy, robbed his diplomatic triumph of any solid after-effects. In his struggle with the Prussian government, as afterwards in his more insidious policy towards France, Leo XIII overrated the strength of the weapons he condescended to employ; and neither in Germany nor in France does it appear that Roman Catholicism will reap any lasting benefits from the temporary triumphs obtained by Vaticanism during the late pontificate.

We have devoted a considerable portion of the space at our disposal to the political action of Leo XIII. It is, however, by his attempt to range on the side of the ancient papacy the new social forces arisen in the world during the course of his long pontificate that his name will be chiefly remembered.

The tendency of modern society to isolate religion, and especially the dogmatic religion of Rome, has been fully realised by Leo XIII. Examination of his earlier encyclicals reveals the fact that nearly every theory or proposition advanced by modern Liberalism as essential to the development and progress of the human community stands condemned by the successor of Pius IX, in no less degree than they were condemned by Pius IX himself, in the encyclical 'Quanta Cura,' and afterwards in the more famous 'Syllabus.' Pope Leo XIII, indeed, has shown himself, on certain points, to be even more Ultramontane than his predecessor. Pius IX seldom or never interfered with the civil and political liberty of the Catholic conscience outside the States of the Church. Leo XIII, on the contrary, laid down a definite line of Catholic action in every state, and declared that the Pope alone was to determine the political attitude of Catholics towards the governments of their respective countries. Under his occupancy of St Peter's chair the Vatican under-



took to direct the political education of Catholics all over the world, with the object of forming a solid Catholic vote, independent of party, and even of race.

So shrewd and enlightened an observer as Leo XIII could scarcely fail to realise that any such political education of Catholics would be productive of but barren results were the wholesale condemnation on the part of the Church of the growing forces of social progress to be persisted in. Not the least interesting point in a study of the late Pope's encyclicals consists in following the workings of the mind of one who was the author of the encyclical '*Novarum Rerum*' as well as of the '*Quod Apostolici*,' penned thirteen years before. In comparing these two documents we seem to trace not only the development of the statecraft of Leo XIII, but also the change which a hitherto anathematised Liberalism has gradually and subtly worked within the Roman Church. It is impossible here to examine, otherwise than superficially, the manifold and complicated social problems with which the late head of that Church found himself compelled to deal. None, however, who have followed with any attention the history of the earlier days of his career, before his elevation to the papal chair, can doubt that Leo XIII possessed a genuine and heartfelt sympathy with the working classes. We have the testimony of those who knew him intimately during his administration of the diocese of Perugia, that this was the case. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if, as the representative in the eyes of millions of working men and women of Him who has been called the first Socialist, Leo XIII should have ventured to supplement a noble desire to ameliorate the condition of the masses by counsels proceeding from the source of an infallible authority.

On May 16, 1891, appeared the encyclical '*Rerum Novarum*.' Its publication was hailed as the opening of a new era of social activity on the part of the Roman Church. A solicitude for the material prosperity of the lower orders—a solicitude hitherto but cautiously and grudgingly displayed by the higher Italian clergy—breathed throughout its pages. The effect was both instantaneous and universal. The '*Christian Socialist*' movement, already active outside Italy, gained renewed vigour; while within the Italian kingdom the '*Opera dei*



Congressi Cattolici,' an organisation for the promotion of co-operative societies, credit-banks in villages and small towns, and a fair rate of wages, supplemented other schemes for the protection and amelioration of the labouring classes. Contrary, as we have been assured on excellent authority, to the original wishes and personal intentions of the Pope, political aims and ambitions soon invaded the domain of justice and philanthropy. The advantages offered to the agricultural labourers and artisans were conceded to 'good Catholics,' that is, Ultramontane Catholics, only. A revolt on the part of the Liberal Catholic party soon manifested itself; and at Rome the movement was headed by Murri, a young priest. He and a few others formed an organisation of 'Christian Democrats.' The scope of their society was to win over the working classes from the socialist body; to gain the withdrawal of the injunction laid upon Catholics to abstain from voting at political elections; and thus to throw the influence of the Catholic vote into the sphere of active politics. The movement soon aroused the suspicion and enmity of the Jesuits and the Ultramontane party at the Vatican, with the result that, on January 18, 1901, the Pope issued the encyclical '*Graves de communi re*,' by which the more liberal concessions made in the '*Rerum Novarum*' were practically annulled. The new encyclical inhibited the Christian Democrats from political action and placed them under the direct ecclesiastical guidance of the '*Opera dei Congressi Cattolici*.' This was followed by a note addressed by Cardinal Rampolla, the papal Secretary of State, and, as many believe, the evil genius of Leo XIII, to the Italian bishops. In this document Christian democrats and all Catholic writers and individuals occupying themselves with Catholic matters are ordered 'always to keep the people mindful of the intolerable position of the Holy See since the usurpation of its civil principality.' It further gives the bishops entire control over the Christian Democratic movement.

A Roman Catholic correspondent, writing from Rome to the '*Times*' on the new encyclical, justly described the sorrow and dismay caused by this surrender on the part of the Pope of his own more enlightened ideas to the intransigent Vaticanist party.

'Liberal-minded Catholics,' he observed, 'declare it to be the most narrow and intolerant official document issued since the "Syllabus" of Pius IX; and it is a striking example of the purely worldly aims of the Vatican and its subordination of religious to political considerations.'

It was certainly no secret in Rome that Cardinal Rampolla's official note was intended as a severe reproof to certain well-known and highly-placed ecclesiastics, who believed themselves to have the support of the Pope in their endeavours to further the cause of equity and justice between employers and employed, and had lent their influence to promote a movement the success of which could only tend to the extension of true religion and charity.

We may not know, though those who have lived under the shadow of the Vatican may guess, what pressure was put upon the already nonagenarian pontiff to cause him to draw back from his former attitude towards social reform. Only ten years before, Leo XIII had been hailed throughout the civilised world as the working man's Pope. The fact must not be overlooked, however, that, in the encyclical '*Rerum Novarum*,' materialistic socialism and its supposed aims, organised strikes on the part of working men, and many other points in the programme of social reform, were equally condemned. Like most papal documents, the '*Rerum Novarum*' is so worded as to admit of varied interpretation on the part of the Vatican, should such be found at some future period to be advisable.

Notwithstanding the retrograde policy manifested in the encyclical '*Graves de communi re*,' the original attitude of Leo XIII towards the new social forces will make his pontificate a memorable epoch, not only in the history of the Roman Church, but in that of all Christian countries. His personal conception of the duties of the Church towards the labouring classes was catholic in the broadest and best sense of the term. It was such a conception as befitted the chief pastor of Christendom. His aim was nothing less than the reconstruction of social order among the masses, and the placing of the relations between capital and labour, between employer and employed, on a common basis of mutual responsibility, the foundation of this common basis being the Word of God as interpreted by

His Church. It is possible, nay, even probable, that had Leo XIII been a strong enough Pope to shake himself free from the retrograde influences surrounding him, and a strong enough man to overcome his own latent dread of socialism as an irreligious movement, he would have succeeded in so dividing the socialist forces that everything in those forces making for the prosperity of humanity would have ultimately been at the service and disposal of Latin Christianity, at least in such countries as number a large Roman Catholic population.

As we said at the commencement of this article, it has been our object to abstain from any criticism of the claims of Pope Leo XIII to theological and spiritual greatness. It is sufficient to allude with reverent admiration to the blameless life, the lofty ideals, and the indomitable moral courage of this remarkable pontiff. Such attributes alone must compel veneration for the Pope, even from those who believe that, as a statesman and diplomatist, Leo XIII has scarcely merited the encomiums which the Press has so lavishly bestowed upon him during many years. His policy has been rather that of the opportunist, at once bold and clever, than that of the far-seeing statesman. It might almost be said to embody the subtle but radical difference existing between statecraft and statesmanship. In no single instance in which Leo XIII pitted himself against European diplomacy has his action gained for the Holy See more than a temporary victory; while the price paid to gain the friendship of the various governments which might one day bring pressure to bear upon Italy in order to compel the latter to restore the temporal power, was occasionally so high as to endanger the spiritual interests of Roman Catholicism itself.

On a later occasion we hope to review certain departments of Leo XIII's activity, especially as regards Italy and the temporal power, Ireland, and Anglicanism, and his financial policy, for which there has been no room in the present article.

---